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SEPARATE LIVES: THE AHMOSE TEMPEST STELA AND THE THERAN ERUPTION

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE connection between the great storm, flooding, and destruction described in the Ahmose Tempest Stela and the Late Bronze Age eruption of the volcano on the island of Thera in the Cyclades as proposed by C. Vandersleyen, H. Goedicke, E. N. Davis, and, most recently, K. P. Foster and R. K. Ritner¹ is the subject of this paper. If established, such a connection would have a profound impact on the chronology of the Aegean world, the nature of the interconnections at various times between the Aegean and Egypt, and the credibility of dendro-vulcanologic dating, among other issues.² We believe that the purported connection is not supported by the evidence. Rather, we believe the description is inconsistent with what is known about the earthquake and following eruption at Thera, consistent with the nature of monsoon-generated Nile floods, and characteristic of a genre of texts describing the restoration of order by rulers. A retranslation and explication of the text by James P. Allen is followed by Malcolm H. Wiener's discussion of the Thera earthquakes and eruption and of the context of the Stela.

II. THE TEMPEST STELA OF AHMOSE

James P. Allen

The text in question exists on fragments of a stela once erected by the pharaoh Ahmose in the temple of Karnak. It was initially published by C. Vandersleyen and subsequently republished by W. Helck with emendations and additional suggested restorations.³

¹ C. Vandersleyen, "Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis," *Revue d'Égyptologie (RdE)* 19 (1967): 123–59 (hereafter cited as "Tempête"); "Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d'Amosis relatant une tempête," *RdE* 20 (1968): 127–34 (hereafter "Fragments"); H. Goedicke, "The Chronology of the Thera/Santorin Explosion," in *High, Middle or Low? Acts of the Second International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology, Schloß Haindorf/Langenlois, 12.–15. August 1990, Ägypten und Levante* 3 (1992): 57–62; E. N.

Davis, "A Storm in Egypt during the Reign of Ahmose," in D. A. Hardy and A. C. Renfrew, eds., *Thera and the Aegean World III*, vol. 3, *Chronology* (London, 1990), pp. 232–35; K. P. Foster and R. K. Ritner, "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption," *JNES* 55 (1996): 1–14 (hereafter "Thera Eruption").

² M. H. Wiener, *The Chronology of the Late Bronze Age from Egypt to the Aegean: Science, Texts, Interconnections* (forthcoming) (hereafter *Chronology*); idem, "The Absolute Chronology of Late Helladic III A2," in M. S. Balmuth and R. H. Tykot, eds., *Sardinian Stratigraphy and Mediterranean Chronology* (forthcoming).

³ Vandersleyen, "Tempête"; idem, "Fragments"; W. Helck, *Historische-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie, Kleine*

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Vandersleyen's edition was based on photographs and hand-copies of the text by P. Lacau,⁴ and Helck's was based in turn on Vandersleyen's articles. Given the critical nature of some of the lacunae and partially preserved areas on the stela, a firsthand examination is clearly needed; lacking the opportunity for that, however, I too have had to rely on the published photographs and on Lacau's readings.

Approximately a quarter of the original text has been lost. Fortunately, the text was inscribed in two nearly identical versions, one on either side of the stela, and this has made it possible to recover a continuous narrative in the last half of the inscription. The first half, however, is less clear. The lacunae are larger, the context of the preserved text is not always evident, and in one case (6 F, 7 B) even the length of the lacuna itself is uncertain. Moreover, although the text of both sides is the same, the inscription on the face occupies only eighteen lines, to twenty-one on the back. As a result, the spacing and sometimes also the orthography of the two versions are different—a characteristic that must be taken into account in judging the value of the restorations that Vandersleyen and Helck have proposed for those sections where no text has survived, since any text that fills a lacuna on one side must also do so on the other. Finally, although Vandersleyen's publication contains both photographs and drawings of the inscription on both sides, the crucial uppermost fragment of the stela has not been published in a way that allows its relationship to the rest of the stela—and, therefore, the length of the lacunae adjacent to it—to be judged accurately.⁵

For these reasons, reexamination of the stela's text required a fresh approach to the physical document itself, insofar as this is available from the publications. Fortunately, the carefully recorded measurements in Vandersleyen's publication (both actual and estimated), combined with contemporary technology, make such an undertaking feasible. The published photographs were scanned into computer images at high resolution, corrected for distortion and angle insofar as possible,⁶ and scaled at one to ten (based on published measurements). The two unattached fragments were then placed in their proper position on the overall photographs; scanned images of Vandersleyen's drawings were used as an aid to and check against the placement. The final composite images served as templates for the two new drawings of the reconstructed stela reproduced in figs. 1a and 1b here.⁷ The

ägyptische Texte (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 104–10. The fragments in Vandersleyen's second article were first published, in photograph, by Abdul-Qader Muhammad, "Recent Finds," *ASAE* 59 (1966): 148–49, pl. 5. Two other studies have relied essentially on Vandersleyen's translation: Davis, "A Storm in Egypt" and S. W. Manning, *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age* (Sheffield, 1995), pp. 200–216.

⁴ Vandersleyen, "Tempête," pp. 123; "Fragments," pp. 127–28.

⁵ Vandersleyen, "Fragments," figs. 1–2, shows a drawing of this fragment joined to the uppermost one ("a") of the overall photographs and drawings published in "Tempête," pls. 8–9 and 8A–9A. The arrangement of signs in Fragment "a," however, is slightly different in the two drawings. No photograph of Fragment "a" has been published.

⁶ The two faces in the photographs published by Vandersleyen, "Tempête," pls. 8–9, are relatively square

to the camera, but the top is slightly farther from the camera than the bottom. The photographs of the fragments published by Abdul-Qader Muhammad, "Recent Finds," pl. 5, are both tilted horizontally and were shot at an angle so that one side is farther from the camera than the other.

⁷ The reconstructed shape of the stela above the highest preserved fragment is conjectural; the overall height is based on Vandersleyen's estimate ("Fragments," p. 127). The scene above the text on both sides was drawn from the photograph, as was the general physical outline of the fragments. The column lines and hieroglyphs of the text were placed directly over their originals on the photographs, but both have been "regularized," since they were intended only to gauge the size of lacunae and restored text and not as an accurate paleographic reproduction. The drawing and hieroglyphs were produced using commercial software (CorelDraw) and a font developed by the Metropolitan

primary benefit of these reconstructions has been to provide a more accurate measure of the length of existing lacunae and the feasibility of proposed readings and textual restorations. The translation and discussion below are based in part on these data.

TRANSLATION

Introduction (ll. 0–3)

[Regnal Year 1 . . . during the Incarnation of the Horus “Great of Developments,” Two] Ladies “Perfect of Birth,” Gold Falcon “Who knots together the Two Lands,” King of Upper and Lower Egypt NEB-PEHTI-RE, Son of Re AHMOSE, alive forever—at the coming of His Incarnation [to . . .], the Sun himself having designated him king; for though His Incarnation had settled in the harbor-town of “Provisioner of the Two Lands” [. . .] of the south of Dendera, A[mun-Re, lord of thrones of the Two Lands] was in Thebes.

Ahmoose’s Homage to the Gods in Karnak (ll. 3–6 F, 3–8 B)

Then His Incarnation sailed upstream to [give him a] pure [. . .]. Now, after this offer[ing-ceremony . . . th]em, and they were put on the [. . . in/of] this [nome], while the processional image [. . .], his body united with this temple, his limbs in joy. [Then His Incarnation sailed downstream to the Palace, 1ph. But] this great [god] was desiring [that] His Incarnation [return to him, while] the gods were asking for [all] their cult-services.

The Rainstorm (ll. 6–10 F, 8–12 B)

[Then] the gods [made] the sky come in a storm of r[ain, with dark]ness in the western region and the sky beclouded without [stop, loud]er than [the sound of] the subjects, strong[er than . . . , howling(?)] on the hills more than the sound of the cavern in Elephantine. Then every house and every habitation they reached [perished and those in them died, their corpses] floating on the water like skiffs of papyrus, (even) in the doorway and the private apartments (of the palace), for a period of up to [. . .] days, while no torch could give light over the Two Lands.

Ahmoose’s Response to the Storm (ll. 10–14 F, 12–16 B)

Then His Incarnation said: “How much greater is this than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods!” What His Incarnation did was to go down to his launch, with his council behind him and [his] army on the east and west (banks) providing cover, there being no covering on them after the occurrence of the god’s impressive manifestation. What His Incarnation did was to arrive at the interior of Thebes, and gold encountered the gold of this processional image, so that he received what he had desired. Then His Incarnation was stabilizing the Two Lands and guiding the flooded areas.

Museum’s Department of Egyptian Art. In the drawings, filled signs in the text reproduce the extant inscription of each side (partially preserved signs are

shown whole), signs in outline represent text restored from that preserved on the opposite side, and signs in dotted line indicate conjectural restorations.

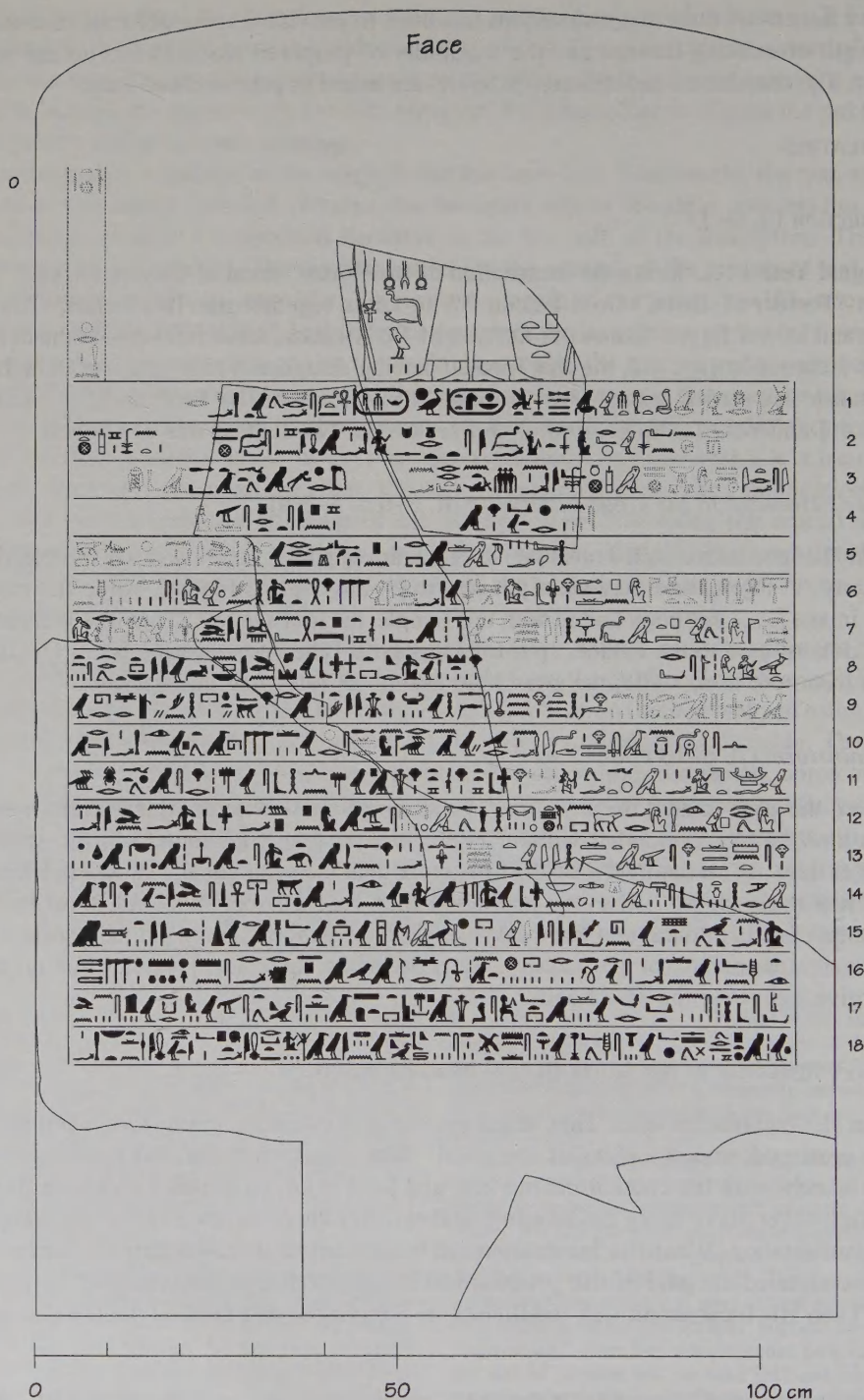


FIG. 1a. The Tempest Stela of Ahmose. Reconstruction of the Face

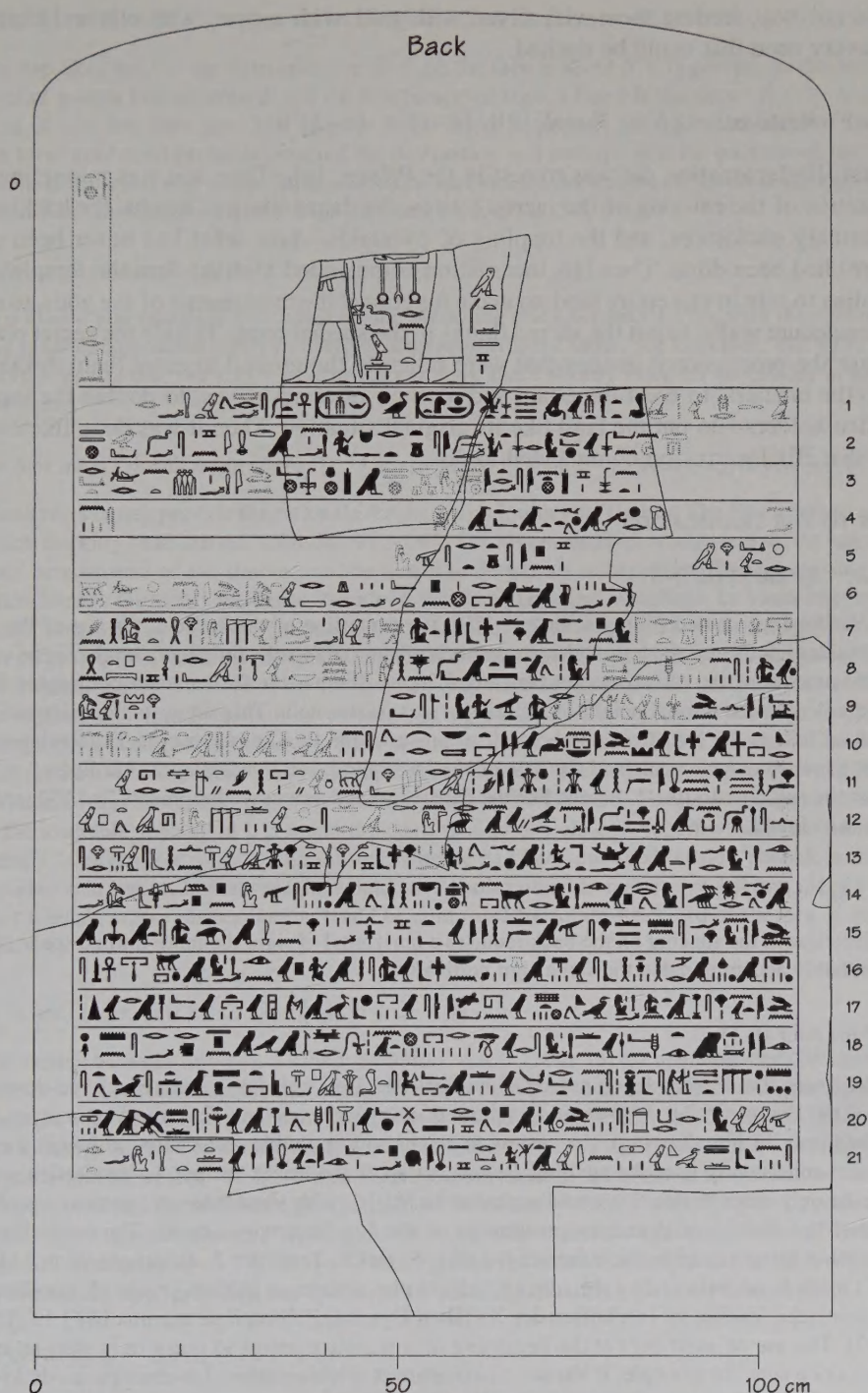


FIG. 1b. The Tempest Stela of Ahmose. Reconstruction of the Back

He did not stop, feeding them with silver, with gold, with copper, with oils and clothing, with every need that could be desired.

Ahmose's Restoration of the Temples (ll. 14–18 F, 16–21 B)

What His Incarnation did was to rest in the Palace, 1ph. Then one was reminding His Incarnation of the entering of the sacred estates, the dismantling of tombs, the hacking up of mortuary enclosures, and the toppling of pyramids—how what had never been done (before) had been done. Then His Incarnation commanded to make firm the temples that had fallen to ruin in this entire land: to make functional the monuments of the gods, to erect their enclosure walls, to put the sacred things in the special room, to hide the secret places, to cause the processional images that were fallen to the ground to enter their shrines, to set up the braziers, to erect the altars and fix their offering-loaves, to double the income of office-holders—to put the land like its original situation. Then it was done like everything that His Incarnation commanded to do.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

[*hsbt* 1 . . . *hr hm n*] (ll. 0–1)

As Vandersleyen noted (“Fragments,” p. 129), the centerline of the scene at the top of the stela on both sides is offset to the left of the central axis of the stela itself. Judging from the scene on the face, the amount of the offset is approximately 5.2 cm—too narrow for an anthropomorphic figure but equivalent to the normal height of a line of a text on the stela. This suggests the existence of a column of text at the left (here numbered 0 to preserve the line numbering of Vandersleyen and Helck), which may have contained the date of the inscription: see Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 150; see also the last note to line 1, below. For the date, see Vandersleyen, “Fragments,” p. 132, and the first note to line 2, below.

[*hrw* [Ⓢ] *hprw nb*]*tj* (l. 1)

As Helck saw, the spacing on the back requires a horizontal [Ⓢ] sign; the more limited space on the face probably accommodated the same sign vertically.

s[*t*] *r.f jwt hm.f* (l. 1)

If the traces that Vandersleyen noted “se laissent déduire sûrement . . . en avant et au-dessus du *f*” in l. 1 F (“Fragments,” p. 131) are in fact those of a vertical *s* and an *r* sign (the fragment has been published only in line drawing), this seems to be the only possible restoration, although the text elsewhere consistently uses the spelling *jst* and not *st*. If the traces are not as Vandersleyen supposed, the only other possibility would appear to be [*h*]*f*[*t*], with Vandersleyen’s vertical *s* probably the tail of the *d*-snake of *dt* and the presumed *r* of the *f*-snake simply a break. The preposition *hft* is somewhat better suited to the infinitive *jwt* (see W. Helck, *Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 144): *st/jst* (*r.f*) tends to be followed by the *sdm.n.f*, subject plus stative, or subject *hr sdm* (F. von Bissing, “Grammatische Studien zu Inschriften der XVIIIten Dynastie,” *Recueil de travaux* [RT] 19 [1897]: 187–93). The use of *st/jst* (*r.f*) at the beginning of a narrative seems to occur only after an initial statement or a date: for example, P. Vernus, “Littérature et autobiographie: Les inscriptions de S3-Mwt surnommé Kyky,” *RdE* 30 (1978): 120; *Urk.* IV, 689, 3–4. The latter may have existed in a column of text at the left of the stela’s scene: see the first note above.

jw t hm.f [. . .] (ll. 1–2)

The gap from *hm.f* to the determinative of r^c on the face is about $5 + 7\frac{1}{2}$ groups; on the back, the number of groups lost between *dt* and the first preserved sign in line 2 is the same ($7\frac{1}{2} + 5$). A similar amount of text has thus been lost on both faces: about $7\frac{1}{2}$ groups, from *hm.f* to *[dh]n.n*. The few words these contained probably denoted the destination and perhaps also the purpose of the king's visit. The destination was either Thebes or, more specifically, the temple of Amun at Karnak, where the stela was undoubtedly erected (*r-pr pn*, “this temple”: ll. 5 F, 6 B).

[dh]n.n sw r^c r nswt ds.f (l. 2)

This clause was probably dependent on the preceding one (*jw t hm.f* [. . .]), with the *sdm.n.f* denoting prior circumstance either in itself or after *m ht* (for the latter, see Gardiner, *EG*, §156). The wording suggests that the king's visit to Karnak took place shortly after his accession, in his first regnal year.

jst grt hms.n hm.f m dmj n sdf(β)-tβwj [. . .] *nt rsw jnt jst r.f.j[mn-r^c nb nswt tβwj] m jnw šm^c* (ll. 2–3)

These two clauses provide the rationale for the king's journey to Thebes. The first refers to a place in which the king “had settled” (*Wb.* III, 97 iv; 98, 11): since *hmsj* (*m*) is intransitive, the use of the *sdm.n.f* here instead of the stative must be meant to denote an action rather than an ongoing state. The text locates the king's residence “south of Dendera” (*rsw jnt*)—perhaps, as Vandersleyen suggested (“Tempête,” pp. 151–53), in one of the palaces at Ballas. The lacuna between *sdf(β)-tβwj* and *nt rsw jnt* probably contained a phrase linking the two place-names, although Helck's suggested [*m ww n tpj*] is questionable. The lacuna on the face can only have been about two groups wide: the lacuna at the beginning of line 3 F cannot have contained more than 3 B's *jst r.f.j[mn-r^c nb nswt tβwj] m jnw* (more tightly spaced), which places 1. 3 B's *nt rsw jnt* at the end of 1. 2 F; the stroke before 1. 3 B's *nt* also appears to be too close to the *n* to have accommodated Helck's suggested *tp* above it. Helck's restoration of the name and epithet of Amun in the second clause is highly probable, since it suits both the available spacing in 1. 3 B and the context. The two clauses, together with the mention of the king's “designation” in 1. 2, suggest that Ahmose had been crowned outside Thebes, perhaps at his residence in Ballas. In that case, he would have had an obligation as one of his first official duties to visit Karnak, where his coronation could be confirmed by Amun-Re, “lord of thrones of the Two Lands.”

<wn>.jn hm.f hnt r r[dit n.f . . .] w^cb (ll. 3 F, 3–4 B)

The lacuna between *šm^c* in 1. 3 B and [*w^cb*] in 1. 4 B is about $13\frac{1}{2}$ groups long; the corresponding portion in 1. 3 F contains slightly more than 8 groups, with 5 of these occupied by the preserved text *jn hm.f hnt r r[dit]*. Even with more generous spacing, the difference of $5\frac{1}{2}$ groups on the back seems too large to have held only the 3 groups missing between *r r[dit]* and *w^cb* on the face. Since the “participial statement” of 1. 3 F also seems unmotivated in the context, the lacuna on the back may have contained the additional group *wn* of an introductory *wn.jn*, “then,” which was omitted on the face. The lost text between *r r[dit]* and *w^cb* probably contained a dative *n.f*, “to him” (referring to Amun); the remainder of 2 (face) to 4 (back) groups indicates that only a single noun-phrase has been lost before *w^cb*: probably one synonymous with $^c\beta[bt]$, “offering” (see next entry).

hr m ht tβ ^cβ[bt . . . s]n (ll. 3–4 F, 4 B)

The demonstrative apparently refers to the expression [. . .] *w^cb* in the preceding sentence. Some $9\frac{1}{2}$ groups have been lost after $^c\beta[bt]$ on the face and $12\frac{1}{2}$ on the back. Since the next lines mention

the reentry of Amun's "processional image" into the temple (see the next two notes), the lacuna may have contained a description of how the image was taken out in procession "after this offering-ceremony." The signs after the lacuna can be restored as part of the suffix or dependent pronoun [s]n; if so, a plural antecedent of some sort has been lost in the lacuna, perhaps referring to the images of other gods.

hr di.tw hr m[. . .] pn (ll. 4 F, 5 B)

Ritner's translation "then attention was given in" ("Thera Eruption," p. 11) is based on the idiom *rdj hr*, "pay attention," but this is normally construed with *r*, *n*, or *hr* (Wb. III, 126 iv). Vandersleyen's "on mettra sur" ("Fragments," p. 131) is thus preferable: *hr* is the preposition, and the *m* following is the first sign of its nominal object *m[. . .]*. The verb's subject is unexpressed and was probably mentioned in the preceding lacuna; for *hr sdm.f* in a narrative context, see *Urk.* IV, 690. 5. The lacuna of $4\frac{1}{2}$ groups before *pn* on both faces contained the nominal object of *hr* at its beginning and a second noun such as *ww*, "district" at its end (determinatives preserved before *pn*), with a preposition or genitive linking the two nouns. The sentence as a whole may have described where the images of the gods were put in the course of or after the procession.

jst grt sšm [. . .], ḥ^cw.f ḥnm m r-pr pn, ḥ^cw.f hr ršw[t] (ll. 4–6 F, 5–7 B)

These clauses evidently refer to the "processional image" (*sšm*) of Amun. The initial *jst grt* suggests a contrast with the preceding clauses, which may then have dealt with the images of the other gods. The clause *ḥ^cw.f ḥnm m r-pr pn*, "his body united with this temple" probably describes the god's entry into Karnak (Wb. III, 380, 17), which suggests that the lacuna in ll. 3–4 F and 4 B referred to the god's emergence in procession from the temple "after this offering-ceremony." The lacuna after *sšm* contained 12 + 6 groups on the back and 5 + $13\frac{1}{2}$ on the face (with some 5 at the end of the latter occupied by *ḥ^cw.f ḥnm*). Since the text after the second lacuna begins with a nominal subject (signaling a new sentence) most of that gap probably contained either a third circumstantial clause or an unrelated statement—probably the latter (see the next note). The gap from *pn* in l. 6 B to the *ntr* sign that probably preceded the divine determinative in l. 7 B contained 13 + $5\frac{1}{2}$ groups; with some $4\frac{1}{2}$ –5 groups needed for l. 5 F's *ḥ^cw.f hr ršw[t]*, this leaves a lacuna of $13\frac{1}{2}$ –14 groups. The lacuna at the end of l. 7 B, after *ḥ^cbyt*, is 13 groups long, of which the last 10 to 11 (depending on spacing) were occupied by the text preserved in l. 6 F ($9\frac{1}{2}$ groups), leaving a gap of perhaps 2 groups between *ḥ^cbyt* and the quail-chick before *ḥm.f*. In ll. 5–6 F, the lacuna from *ršw[t]* to the quail-chick is $6\frac{1}{2}$ + 13 groups long. Line 7 B's [*ntr*] *pn* ^{c3} *hr ḥ^cbyt* takes up $9\frac{1}{2}$ groups, with perhaps another 2 from *ḥ^cbyt* to the quail-chick. If the spacing and arrangement of this text were the same on the face, this would leave only about 8 groups from *ršw[t]* to [*ntr*]. Since ll. 6–7 B had 14 groups for the same lacuna, the orthography of [*ntr*] *pn* ^{c3} *hr ḥ^cbyt* must have been more abbreviated on the face than it is on the back. This text could have been accommodated in about 6 groups if the signs were more tightly spaced (as usual on the face), if ^{c3} occupied only a single group and if the infinitive after *hr* were written without the double reed-leaf (*ḥbt*). This reduction would leave about $3\frac{1}{2}$ additional groups free for the lacuna from *ršw[t]* to [*ntr*], providing a total of $11\frac{1}{2}$ groups to the 14 on the face—a ratio of 1:1.22, only slightly tighter than the overall ratio of 1:1.17 between the face (18 lines) and the back (21 lines).

[*wn.jn ḥm.f ḥd r ḥnw pr-^{c3} nḥ (w)ḏ³ s(nb), jst grt ntr*] *pn* ^{c3} *hr ḥ^cbyt [. . .]* (ll. 5–6 F, 6–7 B)

About 2 groups have been lost between *ḥ^cbyt* and the quail-chick before *ḥm.f*, which certainly contained the object of the infinitive. Two interpretations of the surviving words are possible: as one or two clauses. In the first case, [*ntr*] *pn* ^{c3} will have belonged to one clause, with *hr ḥ^cbyt [. . .]* a sep-

arate circumstantial clause: for example, “[His Incarnation went before] this great [god], desiring [. . .].” In the second, only one clause is involved, with *[ntr] pn* ³ the subject of a “pseudoverbal” predicate *hr 3byt*: “this great [god] was desiring [. . .].” Vandersleyen (“Tempête,” p. 131) opted for the second interpretation, in which he has been followed by Ritner (“Thera Eruption,” p. 11). Since the text in ll. 12 F and 14 B notes that the god “received what he had desired” (*3b(t).n.f*), this analysis is in fact the more plausible; the nominal subject probably marks a new sentence. The lacuna preceding *[ntr] pn* ³ undoubtedly contained a separate clause. Although this could have been a third circumstantial description of the god’s satisfaction (following ^{wt.f} *hr ršw[t]*), a separate statement noting the king’s return northward from Thebes is more likely, since it seems called for by the subsequent mention of the king’s journey by boat to “the interior of Thebes” (ll. 10–12 F, 12–14 B). In either case, the clause that emerges from the lacuna in l. 7 B was probably introduced by a particle of some sort before *[ntr] pn* ³: since the preceding clauses describe the god’s satisfaction, this clause evidently refers to a further “desire” of his; the contrastive *[jst grt]* suggested by Helck thus seems likely. The remainder of the lacuna can be filled by the restoration suggested here or a similar statement of the king’s return home. For the object of *3byt*, see the next note.

[jst grt ntr] pn ³ *hr 3byt* [^{n s}]*w hm.f* [*hr.f*] (ll. 6 F, 7 B)

The text contained perhaps 2 groups in the lacuna *3byt* [. . .] *w hm.f* (see preceding two notes) and another 2 groups between *hm.f* and *ntrw*. The first lacuna undoubtedly contained the object of *3byt*, and the size of the gap suggests that only a single noun or verb has been lost. The relationship between the three portions of surviving text is uncertain. Two interpretations seem possible, depending on whether the text between the two lacunae belonged to the preceding clause or to the one following. In the first instance, [. . .] *w hm.f* was probably part of the object of *3byt*, and a new clause began after *hm.f*, with *ntrw* its subject and *hr šnt* its “pseudoverbal” predicate: “[But] this great [god] was desiring [. . .] His Incarnation, [. . .] the gods were asking for. . .” In the second, the clause break occurred after *3byt*; [. . .]*w hm.f* [. . .] *ntrw* then formed a second clause, with *hm.f* its subject, and *hr šnt* was a third clause circumstantial to the preceding one: “[But] this great [god] was desiring [. . .], [. . .] His Incarnation [. . .] the gods, asking for. . .” Although the surviving text, as available in Vandersleyen’s publication, does not permit a definitive choice between these two interpretations, several factors support the first. In ll. 12 F and 14 B, the clause “so that he received what he had desired” is preceded by clauses describing how Ahmose reached “the interior of the Theban nome” and “encountered” the god’s processional image (see the relevant notes to these lines below), suggesting that these actions were in fact the object of the god’s desire. This in turn indicates that [. . .] *w hm.f* is the object of *3byt* in ll. 6 F and 7 B, and that the lacuna contained some verb denoting the king’s “coming” or “return.” Although the quail-chick before *hm.f* is not followed by a determinative, it could have belonged to the missing verb-form if the latter ended in *w*, with “walking-legs” determinative before the quail-chick: for example, the verb *nw*, “return” (*Wb.* II, 220–21). Alternatively, the quail-chick could be the end of the dependent pronoun [^{n s}]*w*, referring either to the god or, reflexively, to the king himself. Orthographically, this is somewhat likelier. The missing verb must remain conjectural, but the transitive ⁿ, which is used with a reflexive pronoun (*Wb.* I, 188, 18), suits the context. The signs of [^{n s}]*w* fill a space of about 1½ groups rather than the 2 to 3 conjectured in the note before last, but the restoration is feasible if the preserved text of l. 6 F occupied about two more groups on the back (cf. the notes on the text at the end of ll. 11 B and 12 B, below). Although the clause could have ended with [^{n s}]*w hm.f*, the normal use of ⁿ with a prepositional phrase specifying the destination or origin of the action suggests a similar phrase in the lacuna following *hm.f*. The usual prepositions are *hr* or *r*, “away from,” or *n*, “to”; of these, the first two are unlikely in the context and the latter is possible only with a nominal object, for which the lacuna seems too small. The traces visible on the photograph and in Vandersleyen’s drawing (“Tempête,” pls. 8 and 8A) would suit *hr.f*, “to him,” referring to the god (see *Wb.* III, 315, 16).

[*jw*] *ntrw hr šnt hnw.sn [nbw]* (ll. 6 F, 7–8 B)

The arguments of the preceding note indicate that a new clause began in the lacuna before *ntrw*, with *ntrw* its subject and *hr šnt* its “pseudo-verbal” predicate. The introductory particle *jw* suits the space available (if [*hr.f*] is restored at the end of the preceding clause), and the trace visible before *ntrw* on the photograph and in Vandersleyen’s drawing (“Tempête,” pls. 8 and 8A) could well be the back of the quail-chick. The interpretation of the predicate is largely dependent on the identity of the noun that served as the object of *šnt*, which depends in turn on the lost sign that stood above the *n* in the group following *h*.⁸ Vandersleyen (“Tempête,” p. 132) suggested *hnw(t)*, “service” (Wb. III, 102, 8–9), *h[k]nw*, “acclamations,” or *h[ḏ]nw*, “discontent,” and opted for the last, in which he has been followed by Ritner (“Thera Eruption,” p. 11). This interpretation is questionable, however, on semantic and contextual grounds. The verb *šnj* seems to have the normal meaning “ask for, look for” (Wb. IV, 495); it can also mean “recite” (Wb. IV, 495, 17: hence, also “enchant,” Wb. IV, 496, 2–6) but does not seem to have the extended meaning “express” required by Vandersleyen’s translation.⁹ Moreover, the notion of the gods “expressing their displeasure” immediately after the description of Ahmose’s homage to Amun and (probably) other gods in Karnak connotes an unlikely disparagement of the king’s actions. Of the various other reconstructions possible for the object of *šnt*, Vandersleyen’s first alternative, *hnw(t).sn*, is likeliest, probably referring to the cult of the gods. The expression *ntrw hr šnt* is parallel to the preceding [*ntr*] *pn* ^{c3} *hr 3byt* (cf. l. 10 F / 12 B *r b3w n ntr* ^{c3} *r šhrw ntrw*) and suggests the normal interpretation of *hr šnt*: “asking for their cult-services.” For the following [*nbw*], see the next note.


[*h^c.n rdi.n*] *ntrw jw t pt m ḏ^c n h[wyt, kkw] m r^c jmnt* (ll. 6–7 F, 8 B)

The use of *ntrw* after the preceding, coreferential *sn* indicates that a new sentence began in the lacuna. As Vandersleyen noted (“Tempête,” p. 133), the form *jw t* and the parallel with Westcar 11, 14 (*h^c.n rdi.n.sn jw t pt m ḏ^c hr hwy t*) indicate that the sentence began with the initial construction *h^c.n rdi.n*. The size of the lacuna in l. 8 B is about 1 group larger than the 2½ groups needed for these initial words; the additional group probably contained the last word or so of the preceding sentence: perhaps *nbw*, “all,” modifying *hnw(t).sn*. For the lacuna after *ḏ^c n h*], the combination of preserved text in ll. 6–7 F and 8 B suits Helck’s restoration of *h[wyt kkw]*, though the slightly larger lacuna in l. 8 B suggests a fuller spelling of *hwy t* similar to that of the parallel in Westcar 11, 14.

pt šn^c.tj (ll. 7 F, 8–9 B)

Despite Helck’s division of the text, these two words probably belong together. The determinatives indicate a verbal form (stative) from the same root found otherwise in the noun *šn^c*, “cloud” (Wb. IV, 507, 3–9). The parallel sense of the preceding clause supports the meaning “beclouded,” as opposed to Vandersleyen’s “déchaîné” (“Tempête,” p. 133) = Ritner’s “unleashed” (“Thera Eruption,” p. 11).

nj wn[t 3bw, q(3).tj] r [hrw] rhwt, wsr[.tj r . . . , . . .] hr h3swt r hrw qrt jmt 3bw (ll. 7–8 F, 9–10 B)

In l. 9 B, the first lacuna (from *wn* to ) contained 4½ groups; the second (from *wsr* to the end of l. 9 B), about 12 groups, of which l. 8 F’s *hr h3swt r hrw* occupied about 3½. Helck’s restoration

⁸ For the *h*, see Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 132; the left-hand “leg” of the *h* and the right-hand end of the *n* are visible in the first line of the fragment published by Vandersleyen, “Fragments,” p. 131, fig. 3: cf. the photograph in Abdul-Qader Muhammad, “Recent Finds,” pp. 148–49, pl. 5d.

⁹ Leb. 102 = Wb. IV, 495, 15 *šnj bštw* (which Vandersleyen cites in “Tempête,” p. 132) means “look for (i.e., plot) rebellion”; see The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 4, OIP 107 (Chicago, 1986), pls. 6, 4–5; 15A, 12.

nj wn[t β *bw*] (*Wb.* I, 6, 12) is plausible for the first lacuna, since the negation *nj wn* occurs only exceptionally (B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* [Paris, 1924], pp. 96 and 123), and there seems to be no other verb or noun beginning with *wn* that suits the context: following *pt šn^c.tj*, the qualification apparently indicates that there was no break in the cloud cover. The signs at the end of the lacuna are apparently to be restored as *r* [*hrw*], as Vandersleyen suggested ("Tempête," p. 134): the first sign, if it is in fact the trace of an *r*-sign, probably represents the preposition *r*, since *hrw* alone does not seem to be written with an *r*-sign between the oar and the quail-chick (*pace* Helck), and there is no single verb or noun that suits both the context and the combination of the *r*-sign in this position and the "speaking-man" determinative. This leaves, in turn, about 2 groups between [β *bw*] and *r* [*hrw*] to be filled by an expression that the prepositional phrase must have qualified. Helck's [*q*(β).*tj*] suits both the space and the context, although it is separated from its antecedent, *h*[*wyt*], by the two clauses describing darkness; as Vandersleyen saw ("Tempête," p. 134), the comparison must indicate that the noise of the rainstorm was louder than the cries of alarm of the populace. The restoration as a whole can be fitted into the lacuna at the end of l. 7 F (about 5 groups) and the beginning of l. 8 F (about 12 groups). The line-break probably occurred after *r hrw*, with *rhw* *wsr* occupying some 5 groups at the beginning of l. 8 F and about 7 groups unrestored from *wsr* to *hr h β swt*, corresponding to the 8–9 groups for the latter gap in l. 9 B; this division can be accommodated with a shorter spelling of *q*(β).*t(j)* on the face. The length of the gap from *wsr* to *hr h β swt* suggests that it contained two clauses (Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 134). The first, beginning with *wsr*, was probably an expression parallel to that of the preceding clause: hence, Helck's *wsr*[*tj r* . . .]. In the second clause, Helck's suggested [*kh β h(w)yt*], "the rain howled," is probably too long for the lacuna on the face, since its 4½ groups would leave only about 2½ groups for the end of the preceding clause; [*hr kh β*], "howling," is more plausible, though equally conjectural. In any case, the comparative *r hrw qrw jmt β bw* points to some expression describing the noise of the storm.¹⁰

wn.jn pr nb jwyt nbt sprt.sn [β *q.t*, *jmw.s mt*, *h β swt.sn*] *hr mht hr mw mj smhw nw dwyt* (ll. 8–9 F, 10–11 B)

The lacuna spans about 7 groups on the face (12 less 5 for *hr mht hr mw mj*) and 10½ on the back and contained the end of one clause and the beginning of another. The former most probably consisted of a single stative such as β *q*, "perished"; the space available on the face suggests that *sprt.sn* (referring to the rains) was used transitively (*Wb.* IV 103, 7) rather than with following [*r.s*] (Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 137). The phrase *hr mht hr mw mj smhw nw dwyt*, "floating on the water like skiffs of papyrus," probably does not refer to the *pr nb jwyt nbt*, "every house and every habitation," preceding (since the usual construction material was mud-brick), but to the bodies of the dead, as Helck has seen. His [*h β swt.sn*], "their corpses," is plausible but requires an antecedent such as [*jmw.s mt*], "those in them died," (cf. *Wb.* I, 72, 13). The restoration suggested here, though conjectural, fills the space in l. 10 B and would fit the smaller space in l. 8 F with slightly abbreviated spellings. For the reading *dwyt*, see M. Gilula, "Egyptian *nht* = Coptic *nahte* 'to believe,'" *JNES* 36 (1977): 295, n. 2; E. Edel, "Bemerkungen zu den Schießsporttexten der Könige der 18. Dynastie," *SAK* 7 (1979): 33 (I thank E. F. Wente for these references).

m r[(*y*)] *hr hnwtj hntj r hrw* [. . .] (ll. 9–10 F, 11 B)

Most of the signs on the back that Helck recorded as "jetzt verloren" were evidently conjectured and not actually seen by Lacau: see Vandersleyen's remarks, "Tempête," p. 137, n. 1. On the face, the stroke before *hnwtj* is clear; above it is a roughly rectangular trace: this must be the beard of the

¹⁰ For the sound of a storm, see Shipwrecked Sailor . . . wind, see Coffin Texts I 269i (*hrw t β w*). 57 and Book of the Dead 39, 6 (*hrw qrw*); for that of the

hr-sign whose face is visible on the fragment published by Abdul-Qader Muhammad, "Recent Finds," *ASAE* 59 (1966): 148–49, pl. 5d (cf. the drawing of Vandersleyen, "Fragments," p. 131, fig. 3), which fits here. Also on the face, the plural strokes of *jdhyt* are followed by a squarish trace that suits the head of the *m*-owl suggested by Vandersleyen ("Tempête," p. 137) and accepted by Helck. Together, these traces leave somewhat less than a group empty, at the top of which, between the *m* and *hr*, must have stood the *r*-sign visible on the back (Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 137). Below this lost sign the photograph of the face shows a vertical trace, just to the right of the stroke of *hr* but evidently half again as tall, and a vague 𐤀-shaped trace to its right (see Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 137: "la photo comporte une trace horizontale"). It is difficult to know what to make of these traces or how to incorporate them into the group that stood between *m* and *hr*, which evidently began with *r*. After 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓, l. 9 F continues with 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓 *r hrw* to the end of the line. The lacuna of 11 groups at the beginning of l. 10 F contained l. 12 B's *nj shd.n tk3 hr t3wj dd.jn hm.f*; if the signs and spacing were the same on the face as in l. 12 B, this leaves slightly more than 1 group empty at the beginning of l. 10 F before *nj*, which undoubtedly contained a numeral: "for a period of x days." On the back, the space between the preserved plural strokes of *jdhyt* and *r*-sign fits the *m*-owl that probably stood in the same position on the face. After the *r*-sign there is a lacuna of 13 groups (if Lacau's restoration is discounted) to the end of the line, which must have contained l. 9 F's 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓 *r hrw* and the following numeral. Even with more generous spacing and spellings, however, this text accounts for only about 11 of the groups. Since it is unlikely that anything came between the numeral at the end of l. 11 B and *nj shd.n tk3*, which begins the next line, the extra group probably stood between *m r* and *hr*. Thus, the text between *jdhyt* and *hr* on the face contained the signs 𐤀 and whatever stood below the *r*; the text on the back consisted of the same signs (in the same arrangement) probably followed by another group before *hr*. The two preserved signs almost certainly do not belong to one word: *m* is thus the preposition, followed by a noun beginning with *r*. Judging from the apparent stroke below the *r*-sign on the face, this may have been simply the noun *r*, "mouth, doorway" (if the other traces are simply fortuitous); the double reed-leaf with which this word is occasionally written (in the dual) in the meaning "doorway" (*Wb.* II 390–91) may have prompted Lacau's restoration of the extra group on the back. Since the combination *m r/r[y] hr* is otherwise unattested as a unit, two prepositional phrases were probably intended: *m r/r[y]* and 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓. The first evidently means "in the doorway" (cf. *Wb.* II 391, 9). The second probably involves the coordinating function of *hr* (*Wb.* III 131, 25: "and the private apartments"), although the preposition conceivably also carries the connotation "into" (cf. *Wb.* III 131, 12 and 27–31; also 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓: *Wb.* I, 231, 8) and perhaps even "through into" (cf. *Wb.* III 132, 10). The sense is evidently that the waters, and their grisly cargo, reached even into the supposedly inviolate living quarters of the king himself.

𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓 *r hrw* [. . .] (ll. 9–10 F, 11 B)

Pace Vandersleyen, "Tempête," pp. 139 and 155, this phrase probably qualifies the clauses immediately preceding, which refer to the flooding caused by the storm (ll. 8–9 F, 10–11 B *wn.jn pr nb . . . hr 𐤇𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤓*) and not to the length of the deluge itself; the following clause describes a second feature of the storm, darkness (see next note: to ll. 10 F, 12 B). The probable lacuna of 1 group or slightly more (see previous note, to ll. 9–10 F, 11 B) argues against the numerals 1–3, 6, 10–13, and 20–23, all of which would surely or probably have filled less than a single group. A numeral greater than 29 would probably have been expressed in terms of months rather than days. The duration is thus 4–5, 7–9, 14–19, or 24–29 days, with the lower numbers most likely.

nj shd.n tk3 hr t3wj (10 F, 12 B)

For the circumstantial use of *nj sdm.n.f*, see Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 112 and 113–14; Gardiner, *EG*, §105. The relationship between *shd.n* and *tk3* is ambiguous. Since *shd* can be used without object

in the meaning “give light” (*Wb.* IV, 225, 24), *tk3* could be meant as its subject: “while no torch could give light over the Two Lands.” Alternatively, *tk3* could be the object of *shd.n* (cf. the evidence cited by Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 140), which would then have an unexpressed subject: “while no one could light a torch over the Two Lands.” The former is marginally preferable, since the latter relationship is more likely to have been expressed by a passive or impersonal construction (*nj shd tk3*, *nj shd.n.tw tk3*). Moreover, the slight hyperbole of the first interpretation is somewhat better suited to the context (“the darkness was so intense that not even a torch could relieve it”) than the more prosaic connotation of the second (“the rain prevented torches from being lit”—Vandersleyen’s “que la tempête a rendu impossible”: “Tempête,” p. 140; similarly, “torrent so that no torch could be lit”: Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” p. 5).

wrwj n3 r b3w n ntr 3 r shrw ntrw (ll. 10 F, 12 B)

The text is preserved in l. 10 F except for the signs under the 3-sign and above the *r*-sign of *shrw*. The orthography restored here is perhaps likelier than that suggested by Vandersleyen (“Tempête,” pl. 8A). In l. 12 B, the line ended with *h3t pw*, which cannot have taken more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ groups (versus 3 in l. 10 F). The rest of the lacuna ($10\frac{1}{2}$ groups) is more than ample for the missing text *n ntr 3 r shrw ntrw* ($6\frac{1}{2}$ groups in l. 10 F): even with more generous spacing and a fuller spelling of 3, it is about 1 group too large. Since it is unlikely that the back contained additional text, the additional group may have accommodated a “seated-god” determinative and plural strokes after three *ntrw* signs, although this spelling is not otherwise attested on the stela (cf., however, l. 8 B).

h3t pw jr.n hm.f r jmw.f, qnbt.f m ht.f, m3c.[f] hr j3btt hr jmntt (ll. 10–11 F, 12–13 B)

The lacuna in l. 11 F (11 groups) is, unusually, slightly larger than needed for the text of l. 13 B (10 groups): the difference probably lay in the determinatives of *m3c* or in the arrangement of those of *qnbt*. In l. 13 B, there is a break of only 1 group between the *m3c*-sign and the following *hr*; the *m3c*-sign is clear, and the bottom of the stroke below the *hr*-face is still visible. This supports Helck’s restoration of *m3c.[f]* as opposed to Vandersleyen’s “population” (“Tempête,” p. 141; followed by Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” p. 11). The latter sense of *m3c* is not attested until the Late Period (*Wb.* II 156, 13; see Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 136) and would probably have required more than a single group for the determinatives of the seated man and woman and plural strokes (cf. l. 9 B *rhw*). The passage evidently states that the king was followed in his river journey by his “council” (*qnbt*), perhaps in other boats, while his army (*m3c*) accompanied the voyage on either bank of the river (see Helck, *Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 96, l. 2).

hr h3pw, nn hbsw hr.s m ht hpr b3w ntr (ll. 11–12 F, 13–14 B)

Vandersleyen (“Tempête,” p. 141), followed by Ritner (“Thera Eruption,” p. 11), understood these clauses to refer to the state of the *m3c* (“silencieuse, car elle n’avait plus de vêtements(?) sur elle”; “had hidden faces, having no clothing on them”), analyzing *hr h3pw* as the noun “face” plus third person masculine singular stative and *hr.s* of the second clause as referring back to *m3c*. This is grammatically possible (for *hr.s*, see Gardiner, *EG*, §§510–11), but it yields an odd image in the context, particularly since *m3c* probably refers to the army and not to the general populace, as Vandersleyen thought (see previous note); moreover, *m3c* is normally resumed by a plural pronoun (see Helck, *Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 96, l. 3). Alternatively, *hr h3pw* can be analyzed as a circumstantial clause “providing cover,” in which *h3pw* is a verbal noun (literally, “secreting”) rather than the usual infinitive: cf. *hr šmsw* “following” (*Wb.* IV, 487, 11). The pronoun in the following clause more plausibly refers back to the preceding *j3btt* and *jmntt*, while *hbsw* denotes not “clothing” but the more extended meaning “covering” (see *Wb.* III, 65, 2–8). The image of the two clauses is then one of the army providing “cover” for the king’s river journey, perhaps considered necessary because

the normal screen offered by the vegetation of the riverbanks had been swept away by the ravages of the storm (*m* *ht* *hpr* *b3w* *ntr*).

spr *pw* *jr.n* *hm.f* *r* *hn* *n* *w3st* (ll. 12 F, 14 B)

The text preserved on the back fills the lacuna at the beginning of l. 12 F almost exactly. Since the following clause refers to the processional image of the god, the phrase *hn n w3st* here is perhaps a reference to the temple of Karnak: besides lying in the heart of Thebes, this temple had a canal leading into it from the river, along which Ahmose's fleet could have sailed into "the interior of Thebes." For the phrase *hn n w3st*, cf. the similar *hn(w) w3st*: Helck, *Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 82, ll. 7–8 and p. 87, ll. 13–14 (noted by Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 142); P. Vernus, "La stèle du pharaon *Mntw-htpi* à Karnak," *RdE* 40 (1989): 149.

nbw *hz* *m* [*nbw*] *s3m* *pn* (ll. 12 F, 14 B)

Helck's restoration of the second *nbw* is undoubtedly correct: the gap is only 1 group wide, the determinative and one of the plural strokes is preserved at its bottom, and the right-hand edge of the break at the top suits the corresponding edge of the *nbw* sign. The verbal phrase *hz m* is probably stative; Vandersleyen's discussion ("Tempête," pp. 142–43) supports the meaning "encounter" (reflected in Ritner's "confronting(?)": "Thera Eruption," p. 11), although the connotation "return to" may also have been intended. The clause is evidently a metaphorical reference to Ahmose coming before the image of Amun. For the king as *nbw*, "gold," see H. Grapow, *Die bildliche Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 57.

3zp.f *3b(t).n.f* (ll. 12 F, 14 B)

This is probably a clause of result referring back to *s3m pn*. The expected feminine ending of the relative *s3m.n.f* is omitted on the face but could have been present on the back, where there is slightly more room.

hr *s3mt* *mhywt* (ll. 13 F, 15 B)

The lacuna at the beginning of l. 13 F is about $\frac{1}{2}$ group longer than the preserved text of the back; the discrepancy may have been taken up by a slightly different spelling of *mhywt* or *nj 3b.f* (see next note). The final determinative of the former appears to be only a slightly larger version of the normal III -sign on this stela and not the "canal" sign seen by Vandersleyen ("Tempête," p. 143). The sense of *s3mt* may be simply its normal "lead," rather than Vandersleyen's "faire évacuer" ("Tempête," p. 143) or Ritner's "drain" ("Thera Eruption," p. 11): the clause describes how the king provided guidance for the areas flooded by the rains.

nj *3b.f* (ll. 13 F, 15 B)

The sign below the negative-arms is only partially preserved and is damaged. Vandersleyen saw it as a seated man with raised arm ("Tempête," p. 144), while Helck restored it as the *hd*-mace. Neither of these, however, yields any perceptible sense. As Vandersleyen saw ("Tempête," p. 144), the pronominal suffix must refer to the king. Vandersleyen also noted that "On attendrait une expression comme 'sans relâche.'" In fact, the questionable sign could well have been a damaged *j3b*-sign, which this stela uses in spelling the root *3bj*, "desire" (ll. 12/14 F, 7/14/16 B), yielding a somewhat abbreviated but plausible spelling of the verb *3bj*, "stop" (the lacuna at the beginning of l. 13 F could have accommodated a more normal spelling: see the previous note to ll. 13 F, 15 B). The resulting *nj 3b.f* is probably an independent statement, with the following *hr snmt st* circumstantial to it.

m gṣw nb n ḃbw (ll. 14 F, 16 B)

For the final *n ḃbw*, Ritner's "that could be desired" ("Thera Eruption," p. 11) is preferable to Vandersleyen's "de tous produits à volonté" ("Tempête," pp. 142, 145). In the expression *m gṣw*, Vandersleyen saw the abstract *gṣw*, "lack" (*Wb.* V, 152, 8–13) and Ritner the noun *gṣwt*, "bundle" (*Wb.* V, 153, 3–7). Here Vandersleyen's reading is more likely, since the final *t* of *gṣwt*, "bundle" is absent. Also, the general sense "every lack" is better suited to the phrase in this position, where it seems to be a summation of the preceding detailed description of the king's munificence—introduced, like them, by the preposition *m*. The phrase as a whole means literally "every lack of desirability," i.e., every need whose alleviation could be desired.

snḏm pw jr.n ḥm.f m ḥnw pr-ḥ (ll. 14 F, 16 B)

Although *snḏm* can have the connotation "reside" (*Wb.* IV, 187, 7), its root meaning (when used intransitively) seems to be "come to rest," and this meaning suits the present context. The clause marks a break with the preceding narrative and an introduction to what follows. Where the former dealt with the king's measures for relief of the living (ll. 12–14 F, 15–16 B), the latter concerns his restitution of the mortuary and divine estates.

wn.jn.tw ḥr shṣt n ḥm.f (ll. 14–15 F, 17 B)

Although it is often translatable as "remember," the verb *shṣ* has the basic meaning "bring to mind" (cf., for example, Peas. R 11, 1 and Leb. 56, where this must be the meaning, rather than "remember"). This seems to be the sense in the present passage, where the king's courtiers "remind" him of what has yet to be done.

ḥq ḏṣtw (ll. 15 F, 17 B)

The verb-forms are probably infinitives serving as object of *shṣ*, "remind." In the first phrase, Vandersleyen's interpretation of the word following *ḥq* as "funerary domains" ("Tempête," p. 146) is supported by the three nouns in the following phrases (see next notes). The remainder of the stela, however, which details the king's response to this "reminder," seems to deal with the temples of the gods: note, in particular, the reference to *ssmw*, "processional images" (ll. 17, F, 20 B), which can hardly refer to a funerary complex. In that light, *ḏṣtw* may have a somewhat broader connotation of "sacred estates" (see *Wb.* IV, 98, 13–15). See, however, the discussion below.

whn js(y)w (ll. 15 F, 17 B)

As Vandersleyen notes ("Tempête," p. 147), *whn* normally denotes the destruction of an edifice (walls or buildings), though it can be used figuratively with other objects (*Wb.* I, 345, 8–9 and 12). Although *js* often seems to have specific reference to the rock-cut chambers of a tomb (Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 147), its use as object of *whn* here—and in contrast to *ḥwwt* and *mrw* following—suggests the more general sense "tomb."

ḥbṣ ḥwwt (ll. 15 F, 17 B)

The verb *ḥbṣ* is regularly used of the willful destruction of buildings or lands; note especially its use with the object *js*, "tomb": Griffith, "A New Monument from Coptos," *JEA* 2 (1915): pl. 3, B 2. The noun *ḥwt* denotes mortuary complexes in general: see P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), pp. 21–27.

w^c mrw (ll. 15 F, 17 B)

For *w^cj*, see A. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (Oxford, 1968), p. 54, l. 17 (with object *jsw*, “tombs”). This suggests that *w^cj*, like *whn* and *hb³*, denotes the purposeful destruction of buildings. The reduplicated *w^cw^c*, “fell (an enemy)” (*Wb.* I, 280, 9–11), which is probably related, suggests the meaning “topple,” as Vandersleyen has seen (“Tempête,” p. 147); note K. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1979), p. 122, l. 6 *w^c* = p. 122, l. 3/7 *w^cw^c*. The verb *w^c3*, also used with *jst* as object, may be simply another spelling of *w^cj*: see K. Baer, “Ein Grab verfluchen?,” *Or.*, n.s., 34 (1965): 428–38 (I thank E. F. Wente for this reference).

jryt tmmt jr (ll. 15–16 F, 18 B)

This phrase serves as a general summary of the preceding four. Vandersleyen (“Tempête,” pp. 147–48) has noted the parallel with Neferti’s *jryt m tmmt jr*, “made into what had not been made” (Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*, 2d ed. [Wiesbaden, 1992], ll. IVc and Xd). Since the *m* is omitted in both of the present instances, the construction here must be somewhat different, although both *jryt* and *tmmt jr* clearly contain passive participles, as in Neferti’s text. It is possible that the two are to be understood as conjoined: i.e., as referring to the destruction (“what had been done”) and the lack of attention to it (“what had not been done”). Alternatively, the phrase may have been intended as a “passive relative” construction (passive participle with “retained object”: Gardiner, *EG*, §377): literally, “that which the not-having-been-done was done.” The latter is perhaps likelier in view of the literary parallels, although the absence of a resumptive pronoun might support the former interpretation.

srwd rw-prw . . . tzt snbwt.sn (ll. 16–17 F, 18–19 B)

For *r-pr*, “temple” (contra Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 148) and *snbwt*, “(upper part of the) enclosure wall,” see Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, pp. 37–42 and 278–81.

rdit ȝsrw m ʿt špst, h3p st št3wt, sʿqt sšmw r k3rw.sn (ll. 17 F, 19–20 B)

The reference to *sšmw*, “processional images,” here points to temples of the gods rather than tombs. In that light, the term *ʿt špst* probably refers—like the *st št3wt* and *k3rw* of the following clauses—to the “off-limits” areas of the temples. By *ȝsrw* is probably meant the cult objects, in which case *ʿt špst* will have denoted something like the temple treasury: see Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, p. 281; J. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt*, OBO 59 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985), pp. 198–99. The use of *h3p*, “conceal,” suggests that *st št3wt* may refer to the temple crypts: crypts are known for the Eighteenth-Dynasty temples at Buhen and Sesebi (C. Traunecker in *LÄ*, vol. 3, col. 823).

smn p3wt.sn (ll. 18 F, 20–21 B)

The form is undoubtedly that of the infinitive (cf. *rdit t3* following), but the expected feminine ending is omitted on both sides: cf. ll. 13 F / 15 B *hr smnt t3wj*.

jr.jn.tw mj wȝt.n nbt hm.f (jrt) (ll. 18 F, 21 B)

The lacuna at the end of l. 21 B is about 2 groups too large for the text of l. 18 F. From the spacing of *wȝt*, it is clear that the scribe was aware of the extra space and had begun to separate the signs more widely than usual in order to fill it. Nonetheless, some 2 groups would still have been left empty at the end of the line if the scribe had used only the text of l. 18 F and a spelling of *hm.f* in

1½ groups (cf. l. 18 B). One of these extra groups could have been filled by giving the suffix pronoun its own group. The other may have been left blank, but it could also have been filled by an additional infinitive *jrt* serving as object of *wḏ* (see Gardiner, *EG*, §385): i.e., “everything that His Incarnation commanded to do.” If so, the *jrt* may have been present in the original text and omitted in l. 18 F for lack of space.

DISCUSSION OF THE TEXT

The text of the stela can be divided thematically into five sections: introduction (ll. 1–3 on both faces), Ahmose’s homage to the gods (ll. 3–6 F, 3–8 B), description of the storm (ll. 6–10 F, 8–12 B), the king’s immediate response to the crisis (ll. 10–14 F, 12–16 B), and further restorations ordered by Ahmose (ll. 14–18 F, 16–21 B).

The introduction sets the background of the stela’s narrative. It contains Ahmose’s full titulary, followed by an infinitival clause mentioning the king’s “coming”; the destination has been lost in the short lacuna after the infinitive but was undoubtedly Thebes and perhaps more specifically Karnak.¹¹ The infinitival clause was introduced by two particles (*s[t] r.f*) or a preposition (*[h]f[t]*); this unusual feature, coupled with the fact that the scene above the text on both sides is slightly off-center, suggests that an initial column containing the stela’s date may have been present to the left of the scene on both faces. After the lacuna, the text continues with a clause noting that “the Sun himself had designated him king,” followed by two further circumstantial clauses contrasting the king’s “settling” south of Dendera with the presence of “A[mun-Re, lord of thrones of the Two Lands],” in Thebes. These three clauses suggest that Ahmose’s trip to Thebes was in the nature of a state duty shortly after his coronation, which then evidently did not take place in Thebes. If so, the stela probably dates to Ahmose’s first regnal year; this conclusion is supported by several orthographic features of the text.¹²

The next section, detailing the king’s activities in Thebes, is the least well preserved. It begins with mention of an offering-ceremony; this was followed by some other activity probably involving a plural subject or object, which seem to have been “put” somewhere in Thebes. The next preserved clauses describe the reentry of the processional image of the god (probably Amun) into the temple and his satisfaction: these suggest that the missing activity was a procession of the image of Amun and perhaps also those of the other Theban gods. The pairing and contrast between Amun (“this great god,” “this processional image”) and “the gods” is one of the recurring themes of the text and may have been sounded here for the first time. The content of the final major lacuna in this section (ll. 5–6 F, 6–7 B) is uncertain, but it probably involved mention of the king’s return from Thebes to his residence.

The partially preserved clauses following this lacuna (ll. 6 F, 7–8 B) are among the most problematic of the entire text, since they seem to provide the theological basis of the storm. Although the exact relationship between the three surviving fragments of text is uncertain, they most probably contain the remnants of two parallel clauses: the first mentioning the “desire” of Amun (*[ntr] pn ʕ hr ʕbyt*) and the second the “demands” of the other gods

¹¹ Where they are not otherwise documented, the grounds for the conclusions here and in the following paragraphs can be found in the notes following the

translation.

¹² Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 151; idem, “Fragments,” p. 132.

(*ntrw hr šnt*). The first clause is evidently referred to subsequently in the text, where the description of the king's return to Thebes and his encounter with Amun's image is followed by the words "so that he (the god) received what he had desired" (ll. 12 F, 14 B). This suggests that the object of Amun's desire was the king's return—prompting, in turn, the restoration of a sentence mentioning the king's departure and the contrastive particles [*st grt*], "but," in the lacuna before the first clause. In the second clause, Vandersleyen saw a reference to the gods "expressing their displeasure." This is unlikely, however, both on lexicographical grounds and, more importantly, because of the context in which it occurs: following a description of Ahmose's ritual ministrations in Thebes—with which Amun, at least, appears to have been satisfied—it would imply an improbable disparagement of the king's actions.

The key to the meaning of this clause appears to lie in the parallel theme of "the great god," on the one hand, and "the gods," on the other, which is sounded throughout the stela. Ahmose's explicit response to the storm—"How much greater is this than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods!" (ll. 10 F, 14 B)—indicates that both "the great god" and "the gods" were considered agents of its occurrence. The description of his subsequent actions follows the same pattern: first he returns to Amun's presence in Thebes, then—following measures taken for the relief of the country—he orders restoration of "the temples that had fallen to ruin in this entire land." The pair of clauses in ll. 6 F and 14 B are probably to be understood in the same light: as parallel statements of the theological basis for the storm. In the mind of the Egyptians, the catastrophe was evidently seen as a manifestation of Amun's desire that Ahmose return to Thebes and of the gods' demand that he turn his attention to the state of their temples.

The description of the tempest itself, which follows in the next section, is relatively complete, or plausibly restorable, except for a single large lacuna. The main features of the storm were apparently torrential rain;¹³ darkness;¹⁴ and loud noise, probably from thunder or wind, or both.¹⁵ The text does not note the duration of the deluge, but its aftermath is described as lasting for a period of several days or even weeks. It evidently occasioned large-scale flooding, property damage, and loss of life; the mention of "the east and west (banks)" being denuded of "covering" suggests that it also washed away large sections of cropland. All of these features are consonant with archaeological evidence for, and modern descriptions of, similar storms,¹⁶ including the two recent deluges that devastated much of Upper Egypt in October and November 1994; like the latter, it seems to have come from the west ("[dark]ness in the western region" ll. 7 F, 8 B).¹⁷ This view has an antecedent of sorts in Papyrus Westcar II, 9–15, where a group of gods create a rainstorm as an excuse to return to their place of departure.

The extent of the storm is also uncertain. Three passages in the text seem to imply that it affected the entire country: "no torch could give light over the Two Lands" (ll. 10 F,

¹³ "Storm of r[ain]" (ll. 7 F, 8 B); "flooded areas" (ll. 13 F, 15 B); "[their corpses] floating on the water like skiffs of papyrus, (even) in the doorway and the private apartments (of the palace)" (ll. 9 F, 10–11 B).

¹⁴ "[Dark]ness in the western region and the sky beclouded without [stop]" (ll. 7 F, 8–9 B); "no torch could give light throughout the Two Lands" (ll. 10 F, 12 B).

¹⁵ "[Loud]er than [the sound of] the subjects,

strong[er than . . . , howling(?)] on the hills more than the sound of the cavern in Elephantine" (ll. 7–8 F, 9–10 B).

¹⁶ See Vandersleyen, "Tempête," p. 155 and n. 4.

¹⁷ Storms associated with flooding of the Nile are recorded in ancient times as occurring in Punt and Nubia: A. Lloyd, "Once More Hammamat Inscription 191," *JEA* 61 (1975): 54–55.

12 B), “then His Incarnation was stabilizing the Two Lands” (ll. 12–13 F, 15 B), and “then His Incarnation commanded to make firm the temples that had fallen to ruin in this entire land” (ll. 16 F, 18 B). Despite these references, Vandersleyen saw the deluge as localized in the Theban area; Foster and Ritner, however, have argued for a more literal interpretation of the text.¹⁸ The reality may have been somewhere between these two views. If the flooded “doorway” and “private apartments” mentioned in ll. 9 F and 11 B were those of the king’s residence, as seems likely, the deluge will have reached at least from Thebes to the region south of Dendera. On the other hand, if the stela dates to the beginning of Ahmose’s reign, as argued above, the phrases “Two Lands” and “this entire land” cannot have had their usual literal reference to the Nile Valley and the Delta combined, since the latter, at least, was still under the control of the rival Hyksos regime. Nonetheless, the use of these phrases in the text does suggest, as Foster and Ritner have seen, that the storm was not limited to the Theban area. More than likely it affected the entire extent of Egypt under Ahmose’s care: in that respect, it will have been comparable to the recent storm of 1994, which caused flooding both in Luxor and the Cairo area.

Foster and Ritner suggested that an earthquake may have accompanied the tempest,¹⁹ but the text offers no good evidence for this. The only place it could have been mentioned explicitly is in the one or two missing clauses beginning with “strong” and ending with “on the hills more than the sound of the cavern in Elephantine” (ll. 8 F, 9 B), and the surviving text is ill-suited to the description of an earthquake. The suggestion of Foster and Ritner was based on the restorations detailed at the end of the text. While it is true that the destruction mentioned there could have resulted from earth tremors, the fact that an earthquake does not seem to be noted specifically along with the other meteorological phenomena—which are described in some detail in the text—puts such an interpretation in doubt, and there is in fact another plausible explanation for the devastation (see below).

The fourth section of the text deals with Ahmose’s response to the storm. The king’s initial statement that the catastrophe was “much greater . . . than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods” seems to imply, as Vandersleyen noted, that it “surpassed the thought, the intention of the gods.”²⁰ Unusual as it is, the notion of events exceeding the original intent of their divine author has a literary parallel of sorts in the story known as “The Destruction of Mankind,” which describes the sungod’s efforts to stop the slaughter of human beings begun by Hathor on his orders. Ahmose’s first action was to set out by boat for Thebes—thus implying that he had left the region sometime before the storm. On the journey, he was accompanied by his council and a military escort. The latter was apparently intended to cover (literally, “conceal”) the flotilla along either bank, probably in lieu of the natural screen of vegetation that seems to have been washed away by the deluge. If this interpretation is correct, it offers an interesting insight into the contemporary political situation: the extra measure of security may have been deemed necessary either because of the unrest attendant on Ahmose’s ongoing struggle with the rival Hyksos regime or because the king feared being overwhelmed by a population demanding relief from the disaster, if not both.

¹⁸ Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” pp. 140, 143, 148–49; Foster and Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” pp. 5–6.

¹⁹ Foster and Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” p. 7.

²⁰ Vandersleyen, “Tempête,” p. 140. See, however, p. 24 below.

Once in Thebes, the king's first destination was the "interior" of the town (or nome)—probably a reference to the temple or Karnak—where he came into the presence of Amun. The description of this event—"gold encountered the gold of this processional image"—implies that Ahmose met the god as an equal and therefore that his journey was viewed as a state visit rather than a pilgrimage of supplication. Its priority in the list of the king's actions evidently reflects not only the status of the two participants, but also the perceived causality of the storm, as argued above. Following this initial duty, Ahmose turned his attention to the relief of the country and in particular to the regions most affected by the rains. It is perhaps significant that the list of supplies with which the king "fed" these areas does not include food: this can be seen as a further indication of the storm's effect on the cultivation.

The final section in the text, which is also the longest, begins with the king's return to his residence. Once there, he is "reminded" of other areas in need of attention. The initial list seems to be limited to private tombs and royal mortuary complexes, while the list detailing Ahmose's orders deals with the restoration of the temples. Despite the apparent distinction, however, both were probably considered as belonging to the domain of the gods.²¹ This section as a whole therefore constitutes a response to the second perceived cause of the catastrophe: "the gods were asking for their cult-services."

Vandersleyen has argued that the devastation of these monuments was caused by the rains, while Foster and Ritner have suggested the additional agency of an earthquake.²² In the case of the tombs and mortuary monuments, however, the verbs used in the text connote purposeful destruction: "entering (^cq) . . . dismantling (*whn*) . . . hacking up (*hb³*) . . . toppling (*w^c*) . . . doing what had not been done (*jryt tmmt jr*)." Since these are regularly used with human agents, the normal implication here is one of willful wreckage—in that case, presumably a reference to the ravages wrought by the conflict between Ahmose's predecessors and the Hyksos.²³ The verbs referring to the ruin of the temples, in contrast, imply agentless neglect rather than destruction: "fallen to ruin (*w³ r w³s*) . . . fallen to the ground (*pth r t³*)."²⁴ In both cases, therefore, the text seems to indicate that the state of these monuments was not due to the storm but, rather, existed before it. This makes excellent sense both in view of the statement that "the gods were asking for their cult-services" and in light of the wording of the introductory statement "then one was reminding His Incarnation." The text seems to draw a deliberate parallel between the situation caused by the storm and that which existed before it. In the first case, the need for restorative measures was immediate and obvious; in the second, the need was no less serious but was evidently inconspicuous enough, or of long enough standing, that the king needed to be *reminded* of its necessity—a reminder no doubt prompted by the parallel offered by the more recent devastation.

²¹ For the dead as "gods," see Leb. 142 *wnn mz nti jm m ntr ^cnh*, "surely, he who is there (in the necropolis) will be a living god."

²² Vandersleyen, "Tempête," pp. 147, 153; Foster and Ritner, "Thera Eruption," p. 7.

²³ Cf. Helck, *Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 93, l. 18–p. 94, l. 1 (Second Kamose Stela) "the damage they did inside this part of Egypt" (*p³ hdt jr.sn m hn t³ kmt*);

similarly (retrospectively), *Urk.* IV, 390, 7–8.

²⁴ For *w³ r w³s* used of temples, see *Urk.* IV, 765, 13; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, pt. 2 (Warminster, 1979), pl. 15.1, 3; similarly, *w³ r fh*: *Urk.* IV, 386, 4; *w³ r stp* and *w³ r mrh*: *Urk.* IV, 2027, 5–6. For *pth* used intransitively, see *Wb.* I, 566, 2–3.

The “tempest” stela of Ahmose clearly offers an historical record of a natural catastrophe that seems to have affected much of Egypt in the first half of the king’s reign—arguably, shortly after his accession. The inscription is remarkable not only for the events it describes, but also for the rationale it offers for those events: an attempt by the gods to draw the king’s attention to their needs, which might otherwise have been overlooked in the midst of the political crisis facing the new pharaoh. The restoration of order out of chaos is a prominent theme in the initial inscriptions of every new reign, and this stela obviously belongs to that genre—erected to commemorate not the catastrophe, but the king’s response to it.²⁵ While there is no reason to doubt the historical accuracy of the events it records, these should be seen within that broader context. Ahmose’s efforts are clearly painted in general as well as specific terms: although they begin by addressing the immediate problem of relief from the storm’s devastation, they ultimately extend to all the things that need to be put right “in this entire land.” The king’s attention is directed not only to the recent destruction wrought by nature but also to the more longstanding ruin caused by human agency and neglect—all of which are seen as legitimate and necessary objects of his duty “to put the land like its original situation.”

III. THE THERAN ERUPTION, THE STORM, AND THE CONTEXT OF THE TEMPEST STELA

Malcolm H. Wiener

THE EARTHQUAKE HYPOTHESIS

A. *General Considerations*

The Foster-Ritner article refers in a number of instances²⁶ to the earthquake at Thera that preceded the eruption, thus suggesting a causal connection to events in Egypt. Indeed, if the rainstorm were regarded as the sole causative agent of the physical destruction reported in the Stela, it would be difficult to suggest a reason why a storm centered on Thera, 1,000 km to the north of Thebes, rather than a typical monsoon-driven deluge coming down the Nile, should be regarded as the culprit (see below). What, then, is the likelihood that an earthquake caused the volcanic eruption in Thera as well as the destruction in both Upper and Lower Egypt, with the two events so closely connected in time as to be perceived (at least from the cultic/dynastic viewpoint of the author of the Stela and his audience) as one?

The Tempest Stela as preserved, otherwise so vivid and detailed in its description, does not mention an earthquake. Foster and Ritner suppose such a reference may have been contained in a few missing lines, a hypothesis that Allen regards as unlikely (see above). Rather, he believes the terminology of the Stela suggests willful human agency as the cause of the destruction of the tombs and mortuary monuments and neglect as the cause of the damage to temples.

Egypt, on the whole, lies in a zone of only moderate seismicity, but to the north lies the Hellenic Arc running from the Saronic Gulf to Rhodes and the Anatolian coast, the

²⁵ This can be seen as another argument in favor of dating the text to Ahmose’s first regnal year.

²⁶ Foster and Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” pp. 2–3, 5, and 7.

Anatolian fault systems, and the collision structure along the Zagros mountains, which collectively mark the boundary of the Eurasian tectonic plate with the African and Arabian plates.²⁷ Earthquakes in the Hellenic Arc have been known to cause significant damage in the Delta (which, however, would still have been under Hyksos control in Ahmose's Year 1) and on rare occasions to be felt in Upper Egypt, but there is only one recorded case of significant damage in Upper Egypt caused by an earthquake in the Hellenic Arc. The single exception was the great earthquake of 8 August 1303 (Thursday 23 Dhu'l-Hijja 702) which in Crete caused the collapse of many fortified sites and the deaths of 4,000 people; in Upper Egypt mud-brick houses in Qus were reported destroyed.²⁸

Earthquakes resulting from volcanic eruptions are local in nature, unlike tectonic shifts, whose effects may be widespread. While volcanic events are not known to cause tectonic shifts, tectonic earthquakes may set in motion a process resulting in volcanic eruptions. The tectonic event and subsequent eruption(s) are sometimes separated significantly in time; for example, the eruption of Vesuvius which buried Pompeii and Herculaneum in A.D. 79 was preceded by a major earthquake seventeen years earlier in A.D. 62, whose damage was still under repair at the time of the eruption.

What, then, is the earthquake record at Thera prior to the Late Bronze Age eruption?

B. The Earthquake and Eruption of Thera

The excavations at Akrotiri on Thera have revealed evidence of two earthquakes prior to the eruption. The first, early in Late Cycladic I, preceded the eruption by 50–75 years and caused great destruction, so much so that the rubble was left in place at some points and a new street level created at what had previously been an upper-floor window level, the former ground floors having become basements.²⁹ The earthquake that caused great damage in Crete at the beginning of LM I may have been the same or a related event. The second earthquake at Akrotiri apparent in the archaeological record struck three months to two years before the eruption; damage from this quake was under repair at the time fumes at the beginning of the eruption drove the populace away.³⁰ (A few scholars have suggested a longer time interval, based on what they perceive as a possible humus layer

²⁷ N. N. Ambraseys, C. P. Melville, and R. D. Adams, *The Seismicity of Egypt, Arabia and the Red Sea: A Historical Review* (Cambridge, 1994); M. Barazangi, "A Summary of the Seismotectonics of the Arab Region," in K. Cidlinský and B. M. Rouhban, eds., *Assessment and Mitigation of Earthquake Risk in the Arab Region* (Paris, 1983), pp. 43–58; R. D. Adams and M. Barazangi, "Seismotectonics and Seismology in the Arab Region: A Brief Summary and Future Plans," *Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America* 74 (1984): 1011–30; J. A. Jackson and D. P. McKenzie, "Active Tectonics of the Alpine-Himalayan Belt between Western Turkey and Pakistan," *Geophysical Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society* 77 (1984): 185–264.

²⁸ The authors note the possible biases in the data; information is obviously better during periods free from conflict and reporting would at most times have been better from Lower Egypt than Upper Egypt. See Ambraseys, Melville, and Adams, *The Seismicity of Egypt*,

pp. 42–43. The earthquake of 26 June 1926, with an epicenter in the eastern part of the Hellenic Arc, was felt in southwest Greece and Crete (as well as many parts of Italy) and caused the collapse of some adobe houses and some deaths in the Delta, but it was barely perceptible in Luxor (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84). An earthquake of 12 September 1955 caused some damage in the Delta and was perceptible in both Athens and Luxor (*ibid.*, p. 88). The major earthquake of 9 July 1956, which killed over forty and destroyed great numbers of the houses on Thera, was not felt in Egypt, however (*Washington Post*, 10 July 1956; *Times* [London], 10 July 1956 and 11 July 1956; *The New York Times*, 11 July 1956 and 12 July 1956; *Life*, 23 July 1956).

²⁹ C. Doulas, "Archaeological Observations at Akrotiri Relating to the Volcanic Destruction," in Hardy and Renfrew, eds., *Thera and the Aegean World III*, vol. 3, p. 48.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

between the earthquake and the eruption.)³¹ This quake, which Foster and Ritner suggest may have been responsible for the destruction of structures in both Lower and Upper Egypt, had only limited effects at Thera; the largest building exposed to date, three-story high Xeste IV, was left standing in good condition. Accordingly, the Foster-Ritner hypothesis would require that the epicenter of this earthquake be much closer to Egypt, yet still capable of setting in motion a tectonic shift leading to the great eruption at Thera. Hence it is worth noting that a second major earthquake during LM IA severely damaged Trianda on Rhodes and the Seraglio on Kos prior to the Thera eruption that deposited large amounts of tephra on both sites. Marketou, who excavated the sites, observed that at Trianda at the time of the eruption "it seems that they had started to repair and rebuild their town due to a second earthquake, following a large-scale program of a Minoanizing character"—which, however, again suggests the passage of some time between the earthquake and the eruption.³²

It is perhaps particularly difficult to understand why an earthquake and a great storm putatively caused by a volcanic eruption not less than three months later at the least should be perceived as one event (or even two closely related events) by the Stela's author. Moreover, Allen has noted that the terms used in the Ahmose Tempest Stela to describe the physical effects on structures appear to refer to deliberate human action in the case of the monuments and tombs and to neglect in the case of the temples (see above).

THE SOURCE AND NATURE OF THE STORM

At the time of the Thera eruption the prevailing westerly winds were in full play, as evidenced by the heavy dispersal of tephra in an arc to the east ranging from Rhodes, 210 km to the southeast (with a depth of deposit ranging from 90 cm to 3 m); Kos, 170 km to the east (depth of 12 cm); Gölcük Lake above Sardis, 330 km to the northeast (depth of 12 cm); seabed cores southeast of Thera and in the Black Sea north of Samsun, 1,000 km to the northeast; sediments from Köyceğiz Lake, 300 km east of Thera; further sediments from Gölhisar Lake northwest of Antalya; but only trace amounts of ash in the Nile Delta, 750 km to the southeast.³³ (The Foster and Ritner reference to an "eastward and southward"

³¹ P. M. Warren, "The Minoan Civilisation of Crete and the Volcano of Thera," *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 4 (1990–91): 29–30; C. Doulas, "The Stratigraphy of Akrotiri," in C. Doulas, ed., *Thera and the Aegean World: Papers and Proceedings of the Second International Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978*, vol. 1 (London, 1978), pp. 781–82; Doulas, "Archaeological Observations at Akrotiri," pp. 48–49; J. Keller, T. Rehren, and E. Stadlbauer, "Explosive Volcanism in the Hellenic Arc: A Summary and Review," in D. A. Hardy, J. Keller, V. P. Galanopoulos, N. C. Flemming, and T. H. Druitt, eds., *Thera and the Aegean World III*, vol. 2, *Earth Sciences* (London, 1990), p. 14.

³² T. Marketou, "Santorini Tephra from Rhodes and Kos: Some Chronological Remarks Based on the Stratigraphy," in Hardy and Renfrew, eds., *Thera and the Aegean World III*, vol. 3, pp. 100–113 at 107. See also Marketou, "New Evidence on the Topography and

Site History of Prehistoric Ialysos," *Archaeology in the Dodecanese* (Copenhagen, 1988), pp. 27–33.

³³ Marketou, "Santorini Tephra from Rhodes and Kos," p. 105; D. Ninkovitch and B. C. Heezen, "Santorini Tephra," in W. F. Whittard and R. Bradshaw, eds., *Submarine Geology and Geophysics: Proceedings of the 17th Symposium of the Colston Research Society* (London, 1965), pp. 413–53; D. J. Stanley and H. Sheng, "Volcanic Shards from Santorini (Upper Minoan Ash) in the Nile Delta, Egypt," *Nature* 320 (1986): 733–35; D. G. Sullivan, "The Discovery of Santorini Minoan Tephra in Western Turkey," *Nature* 333 (1988): 552–54; Keller et al., "Explosive Volcanism in the Hellenic Arc," pp. 13–26; F. Ruichard, S. Carey, M. A. Arthur, H. Sigurdsson, and M. Arnold, "Tephra from the Minoan Eruption of Santorini in Sediments of the Black Sea," *Nature* 363 (1993): 610–12. I am grateful to P. Kuniholm for providing some of these citations.

flow³⁴ is superseded by the recent data on dispersal to the northeast.) As a gauge of the intensity of the tephra fall, it is worth noting that 10 cm of tephra is normally sufficient to collapse roofs. Given the strongly eastward direction of the tephra dispersal, it is all the more difficult to understand why, if the storm described was caused by the Thera eruption, the Stela should specify that the darkness appeared in the west, inasmuch as Thera is 800 km north-northwest of Memphis and 1,300 km north-northwest of Thebes, the points between which the storm was observed.

While the description of the causes of damage, the separation in time from any known earthquake, and the location of the storm appear to argue strongly against a Thera-related event or events, the storm description fits well with monsoon-driven storms and floods, such as those that devastated parts of Upper and Lower Egypt in October and November 1994 and in January 1996 (see Allen above). Such monsoon-related storms create the darkened skies along the Nile and the noise that the Stela describes. They also create floods that cause water to enter buildings and denude river banks, sometimes causing landslides that destroy building foundations, as in the case of the heavy rainfalls in the Theban area in 1994–95, which caused tectonic movements of the ground.³⁵ The Stela reports the Pharaoh exclaiming: “How much greater is this than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods!” (ll. 10–14 F). An imputation of powerlessness on the part of Amun-Re and the other gods can be avoided by understanding the language to mean that the extent of the annual rains and Nile flood when satisfactory was the normal plan of the gods unless aroused, whereas the storm and flooding on this occasion exceeded the normal divine intent and plan.

THE STELA TEXT IN CONTEXT

Rather than describing the consequences of an earthquake and the atmospheric effects of the eruption of Thera, the Ahmose Tempest Stela appears to analogize the repair of storm and flood damage to the reconstruction of tombs, mortuary monuments, temples, and religious institutions required as a result of the destructive actions and neglect of human agents. The storm described thus appears to act theologically as a manifestation of Amun’s desire that Ahmose return to Thebes, the seat of his worship and past glory as a major deity, and the gods’ demand that Ahmose restore their temples and services (see Allen above).

The fixing of offering-loaves and doubling of income of office-holders described by the Stela (ll. 16–21 B) speak of institutional renovation rather than simply the repair of storm damage. The Stela can thus be seen as falling within the genre of permanent records describing the restoration of order, such as the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut Year 7—which, interestingly, also recounts a tempest, in this case one comprising nine days of raging storms and total darkness—and the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun.³⁶ Two days of unseasonable thunder and rain are reported in a text almost certainly of Hyksos date, the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (verso), as noted by Foster and Ritner.³⁷

³⁴ Foster and Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” p. 2.

³⁵ D. C. Polz, “Spanning One Thousand Years in the ‘Life’ of the Theban Necropolis,” *Backdirt*, Newsletter of the Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles (Spring-Summer 1996): 2.

³⁶ See Goedicke, “The Chronology of the Thera/Santorin Explosion,” p. 61; J. Bennett, “The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun,” *JEA* 25 (1939): 8–17.

³⁷ Foster and Ritner, “Thera Eruption,” p. 10, n. 51.

It is interesting to consider where the deliberate destruction of tombs and mortuary monuments, on the one hand, and the neglect of temples that the Stela describes, on the other, are likely to have occurred. As Allen notes above, the references to the "Two Lands" and "this entire land" cannot here have their usual full sense, since in Ahmose's Year 1 the Delta was still in Hyksos control. Conversely, the temples in Thebes remained under the direct control of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and its rulers apparently were able to continue their traditional function of making donations and even additions to temples within the southern part of Egypt, at least between Thebes and Abydos, including those at Coptos, Deir el-Ballas, Medamud, Edfu, and particularly Abydos, where the record of royal patronage from the end of the Twelfth to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasties included no mention of the Hyksos.³⁸ (Of course these temples may have retained a historical sense of comparative neglect relative to the riches of the Twelfth Dynasty because of Hyksos suzerainty and the loss of direct contact with Western Asia, even though the circumstances of the Twelfth Dynasty were not personally recalled by priests or populace.) As to the willful destruction by human agents of mortuary monuments and tombs that the Stela describes, it is probably necessary to look to the area of Memphis, and especially Dahshur, where such willful destruction to tombs and monuments during the late Thirteenth Dynasty has been observed.³⁹

AN EXCURSUS ON THERAN PUMICE EXCAVATED AT TELL EL-DAB^{CA} (AVARIS)

Foster and Ritner, in support of a date for the eruption in the reign of Ahmose, note in passing⁴⁰ the appearance of Theran pumice in stratified contexts at several places at the site of the Hyksos capital of Avaris in the Delta, probably within the quarter century of the reigns of Tuthmosis I and II or possibly a little earlier,⁴¹ between ca. 1514 and 1479 on the middle chronology and twenty years earlier on the high chronology. The appearance of this pumice, waterborne and in secondary contexts, has indeed been cited by proponents of the short or traditional Aegean chronology as important evidence in its favor.⁴²

Tests now show the pumice to be of Theran origin.⁴³ Whether the pumice has any relevance as a chronological indicator is, however, open to doubt. The deposits are clearly secondary ones, of pumice gathered for some purpose, probably industrial, as distinguished from airborne primary deposits of tephra or ash. Given the direction of Mediterranean currents, pumice from Thera would float naturally to the Nile Delta. Manning has suggested

³⁸ B. Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, c. 2686–1552 B.C.: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt," in B. G. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd, eds., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 159.

³⁹ Dieter Arnold, personal communication. The Stela may perhaps also refer to the damage done in the former Hyksos-allied towns between Gebelein and Hermopolis by the campaign of Kamose: L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and His Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 8 (Glückstadt, 1972), pp. 38 and 54–55.

⁴⁰ Foster and Ritner, "Thera Eruption," p. 10.

⁴¹ M. Bietak, discussion in Wiener, ed., "Discussions," in *Trade, Power and Cultural Exchange: Hyksos Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World 1800–1500 B.C.: An International Symposium, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 3, 1993*, *Ägypten und Levante* 5 (1995): 123–24 and personal communication of 10 January 1996, for which I (Wiener) am most grateful.

⁴² P. Warren, "The Aegean and the Limits of Radiocarbon Dating," in K. Randsborg, ed., *Acta Archaeologica* (forthcoming).

⁴³ Bietak, in "Discussions," *Ägypten und Levante* 5 (1995): 123–24.

as an additional possibility the deliberate importation of pumice for some industrial use during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁴

In the Aegean such deposits are often found in later, and sometimes much later, contexts. For example, at the island of Pseira, two miles off the north coast of Crete, only about ten percent of the Theran pumice recovered comes from LM IA contexts close in time to the eruption, whereas about ninety percent is found in the LM IB destruction levels, a half-century after the eruption on the short chronology and a century later on the long chronology.⁴⁵ At Zakros, on the east coast of Crete, significant amounts of pumice were found in an LM IB destruction context.⁴⁶ J. Shaw notes that at Kommos, on the south coast of Crete, lumps of pumice are routinely found in most post-eruption strata.⁴⁷ Deposits at other sites have been found in LM II–LH IIB, LM III, and even Hellenistic contexts.⁴⁸

Pumice has a number of uses known from the Bronze Age and later antiquity. Evely notes that fragments of pumice were used in the predominantly metalworking milieu of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, including in one case in a disk with a central hole, perhaps for use in a lathe or lap-wheel.⁴⁹ Evely also notes that pumice is an excellent abrasive for use in the manufacture of stone vases. Pichler observed that the lumps of pumice from Knossos (Unexplored Mansion) and Mallia which he had tested showed obvious signs of usage as tools.⁵⁰ Blitzer's publication of seventy pieces of pumice from Kommos found under a bellows in an LM IIIA2-B context concludes that they had probably been used as insulation in metalworking and that other pieces had been used in finishing metal implements.⁵¹ Faure notes fourteen separate uses of pumice recorded in classical antiquity: as an abrasive for stoneworking; in polishing marble, bone, and metal; in the preparation/tanning of skins/parchment; for cleaning potting clay; as a component of concrete or an additive to certain paints; as an agent to retard fermentation; in cleaning the skin; as a medicine or as a depilatory; as a counteragent for inebriation; and as toothpaste.⁵²

One major use, as an abrasive, causes pumice to disappear through use, thereby arguably resulting in a recovery ratio highly skewed in favor of destruction levels such as the LM IB levels on Crete or the Eighteenth Dynasty final occupation level at Dab^ca, as distinguished from the date of its introduction into use.

Those who believe the use of the waterborne pumice at Avaris followed the eruption closely in time argue that it would be remarkable if so useful a substance as pumice was ignored for a considerable period of time by the Hyksos and only used by the Eighteenth

⁴⁴ S. W. Manning, *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age: Archaeology, Radiocarbon and History*, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 1 (Sheffield, 1995), p. 31.

⁴⁵ P. P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, "Excavations at Pseira, 1985 and 1986," *Hesperia* 57 (1988): 218; Wiener, in "Discussions," *Ägypten und Levante* 5 (1995): 121.

⁴⁶ N. Platon, *Pepragmena B' Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1968), p. 223.

⁴⁷ J. Shaw, letter to Wiener of 20 August 1996.

⁴⁸ P. Faure, "Remarques sur la présence et l'emploi de la pierre ponce en Crète du Néolithique à nos jours," in A. Kaloyeropoulou, ed., *Acta of the 1st International Scientific Congress on the Volcano of Thera, 15–23 September 1969* (Athens, 1971), pp. 422–29.

⁴⁹ R. D. G. Evely, *Minoan Crafts: Tools and Techniques, An Introduction*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, vol. 92/1. (Gothenburg, 1993), p. 112.

⁵⁰ H. Pichler, comments in discussion following paper by H. C. Einfalt, "Stone Materials in Ancient Akrotiri—A Short Compilation," in Dumas, ed., *Thera and the Aegean World: Papers and Proceedings of the Second International Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978*, vol. 2 (London, 1980), p. 304.

⁵¹ H. Blitzer, "Minoan Implements and Industries," in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, eds., *Kommos I: The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town, Part 1, The Kommos Region, Ecology, and Minoan Industries* (Princeton, 1995), p. 531.

⁵² Faure, *Acta of the 1st International Scientific Congress on the Volcano of Thera*, pp. 424–25.

Dynasty Egyptians and, moreover, used at just the time when the short Aegean chronology places the mature LM IA period of the eruption. Possible explanations for the lack of evidence for Hyksos's use of pumice are that (1) the Hyksos metal or other workshop area has not yet been uncovered in the excavated part of the enormous site of Dab^ca, or (2) Hyksos metalworkers were accustomed to using other abrasives and so ignored the pumice floating in the Delta, perhaps because the existing method of production of metal had social or symbolic significance resistant to change (as has been observed in other societies).

It should be noted that if Allen is correct in ascribing the Stela to Ahmose's Year 1 (see above), then (on the assumption that the Stela describes the effects of the Thera eruption) a half-century would separate the eruption from the appearance of the pumice in the stratigraphic sequence at Avaris in any event (compared to the 110 to 130 years that the long Aegean chronology, which places the eruption at 1628 B.C., would require). Sieving of Tell el-Dab^ca is underway to search for earlier traces of Thera pumice or (better still, if extant) windblown ash from the eruption.⁵³

* * *

We may summarize by posing the following questions to those who would link the Ahmose Tempest Stela to the Thera eruption:

1. Why is the Stela interpreted as implying an unmentioned earthquake, given the presence of terms indicative of human destruction and neglect?
2. If the earthquake that struck Akrotiri an estimated three months to two years before the eruption also devastated Upper and Lower Egypt as Foster and Ritner appear to suggest, why were this earthquake and the supposed eruption-created tempest perceived as a single event?

⁵³ Bietak, personal communication of 10 January 1996. The Foster and Ritner article contains a small error with respect to the appearance of pumice in a ritual context at the villa of Nirou Chani on the north coast of Crete: "Thera Eruption," p. 4, n. 18. The authors refer to "hundreds of pumice lumps, each in a conical cup," citing S. Hood, "Traces of the Eruption Outside Thera," in C. Dumas, ed., *Thera and the Aegean World*, vol. 1 (London, 1978), pp. 681–90. The Hood article cited, however, speaks of "hundreds" of little conical clay cups . . . and most of them held a lump of pumice" (p. 688), citing the report of the excavator, N. Platon, "Ἡ ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1941–1947," *ΧΡΗΤΙΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ* (*KrChron*) A (1947): 636; and "Τὰ Μινωϊκὰ οἰκὰ καὶ ἱερὰ," *KrChron* H (1954): 449–50. That report of the excavation, however, simply says that lumps of pumice were found in conical cups, without any indication of number or proportion. (I, Wiener, am indebted to P. Betancourt for confirming this interpretation.) Information on ritual uses of conical cups including the Nirou Chani instance is gathered in Wiener, "Crete and the Cyclades in LM I: The Tale of the Conical Cups," in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, eds., *The Minoan Thalassocracy, Myth*

and Reality: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 31 May–5 June 1982 (Stockholm, 1984), p. 20.

A correction is also in order with respect to the citation of radiocarbon data. Foster and Ritner remark that "graphing the probability density [*sic*] for the date reveals a peak at 1619 B.C. and another at 1530 B.C." The work cited is out-of-date, however; in the 1993 decadal calibration, the second peak occurs at 1565 B.C., with the curve resuming a normal slope by 1535 B.C.: S. W. Manning, *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age: Archaeology, Radiocarbon and History*, fig. 53a. In fact, the problems caused by (1) the oscillation in the calibration curve in the sixteenth century B.C. (the source or sources of which—sunspot activity, shifts in the earth's magnetic field, change in rates of discharge of radiocarbon from the ocean reservoirs, or whatever—are still not fully determined); (2) the annual and seasonal variation in the absorption of ¹⁴C by short-lived samples; and (3) the interlaboratory variability of results, provide major problems for determining the date of the Thera eruption via radiocarbon analyses: see Wiener, *Chronology* (forthcoming).

3. Why were the tempest and darkness perceived in the west, when Thera lies mostly to the north and the direction of winds carried the tephra strongly to the east?
4. How does the description of the storm and its consequences differ from that which would be expected of a typical monsoon-induced storm and resultant Nile flooding?
5. How do the sections of the Stela describing the support of temples and restoration of order differ significantly from other restoration-of-order texts, so as to make the Stela uniquely a reference to damage from the eruption of Thera?

These questions lack convincing answers. Accordingly, it appears unlikely on balance that the Ahmose Tempest Stela refers to the Thera eruption.

THE TRANSFER OF DECORATIVE OBJECTS AND THE READING OF THE SIGN DU IN THE EBLA DOCUMENTATION*

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1. AFTER analyzing parallel passages from two administrative texts from Ebla, F. D'Agostino has tried to demonstrate that DU can be read as *gub*, in connection with the reading of the place-name DU-*lu*^{ki} as *gub-lu*^{ki}, Byblos.¹ In the first of these texts (ARET 2, 15), the recipient of an Amorite dagger is *ir-ba_x-zé² lú da-zi-du-du*; in the second (TM.75.G.1696), the recipient of a lamina-dib is *ir-ba_x-zé lú da-zi-gú-bù-ru₁₂*. From texts, it is deduced that the officials of whom Irbaze is a subordinate are in fact the same person and therefore that his name in ARET 2, 15 should be read *da-zi-gub-rá*.

1.1. I agree so strongly with H. Waetzoldt's statement "ohne Parallelstellen geht es nicht," the actual title of his brief note in *JAOS* 106 (1986): 553–55, that I maintain that in the field of Eblaite studies W. Savage Landor's line: "No truer word, save God's, was ever spoken" could be applied here. But the parallels must be well founded and not based only on a single, albeit interesting, apparent agreement.³ It seems strange that after all the progress which has been made in the internal dating of the Ebla administrative texts,⁴ nothing has been said about the chronological relationship between the above-cited texts. ARET 2, 15 belongs to the last period of the documentation of the Royal Archives, that is, to the latter part of the reign of Iš³ar-Damu; the evidence for this is the parallel mention of the en and of Ibbi-zikir (§10) and that of 3 dumu-nita en of the later generation (§5) (11–12). To this can be added the location of the tablet next to the north wall, level B, which contains administrative material for the period in question.⁵ TM.75.G.1696, on the other hand, can be

* For permission to quote from unpublished material from Ebla, I would like to express my gratitude to A. Archi and P. Matthiae. I am also grateful to M. G. Biga and L. Viganò for their most useful suggestions. The following abbreviations of texts cited have been used: ARES: Archivi Reali di Ebla, Studi (Rome, 1988–); ARET: Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi (Rome, 1981–); MEE: Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla (Naples, 1979–); MVN: Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico (Rome, 1974–); SEB: Studi Eblaïti (Rome); PET: M. Krebern timer, *Die Personennamen der Ebla Texte* (Berlin, 1988). [This paper was submitted to and accepted by *JNES* in April 1996. Eds.]

¹ F. D'Agostino, "On the Reading /gub/ of the sign /DU/ in Ebla," *NABU* 1993/75.

² Among the many possible readings of the sign PÉŠ

in this personal name, *ba_x* seems to be preferred; it was proposed by J. Krecher, "Observations on the Ebla Toponyms," *ARES* 1, pp. 177–78.

³ Among the many examples that could be cited in this regard, I confine myself to the following parallel from two texts of the reign of Iš³ar-Damu: *ì-na-sum ip-hur-ì lú i-rí-ik-gú-nu* (ARET 1, 10, 66) and *ì-na-sum ip-hur-ì lú i-rí-ik-da-mu* (ARET 8, 534, 32). From these texts, of course, it is not possible to establish that the two theophoric elements *gú-nu* and *da-mu* of the names of the superiors of Iphur-II are equivalent.

⁴ In the present article, the mention of a tablet will be followed, when it is possible, by its date according to the following definitions: I = reign of Igriš-Halab; II = the earlier part of the reign of Irkab-Damu when Arrulum was the "vizier"; III = the latter part of the reign of Irkab-Damu, with the "vizier" Ebrium; IV = the earlier part of the reign of Iš³ar-Damu, with the "vizier" Ebrium; V = the latter part of the reign of Iš³ar-Damu, with the "vizier" Ibbi-zikir.

⁵ See M. G. Biga and F. Pomponio, "Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla," *MARI* 7 (Paris, 1993), pp. 112–13.

dated to the middle of the reign of Irkab-Damu; this is indicated by the description of Ibbi-zikir as being the son of Ebrium (v. VI 5–7) and by the mention of Iḫib-Malik as the brother of Dusigu (v. VI 11–VI 2), who is not yet described as ama-gal en.⁶ In my opinion, it is extremely unlikely that a person appearing in texts such as ARET 2, 15 and TM.75.G.1696, which date to such vastly different periods, would be described as the lú of the same official.

1.2. Another fact which must not be overlooked is the frequency of the occurrence of the personal name *ir-ba_x-zé*. If we confine ourselves to the published material, we can distinguish the following individuals based on their description and the context:

- 1) a “gatherer” (ur₄) in MEE 10, 18 r. III 8 and passim (II);
- 2) a commissar of Zabaram in MEE 10, 21, v. V 17–VI 2 (III);
- 3) an official in charge of a group of zà-ús and *ir-a-lum* in ARET 2, 30, 7'. 18'. 21' (III);
- 4) the recipient of a set of textiles for the en of Kakmum in ARET 1, 6, 53" (IV);
- 5) an ugula of Garaman in ARET 3, 255, r. IV; 323, v. V; 535, r. I; 562, r. II. VI; and MEE 10, 20, r. XVIII 9–10 (IV);
- 6) a šeš-2-eb on duty in the SA+ZA_x^{ki} in ARET 4, 5, 10 (IV);⁷
- 7) a “collector” (šu-du_g) in Abšu in ARET 3, 1 V (IV ?);
- 8) a person from Agagališ in ARET 4, 1, 32 (V);
- 9) a lú of u₉-NE-a-an in ARET 4, 2, 18 (V);
- 10) a nar-tur in ARET 1, 5, 51 and 8, 531, 48 (V);⁸
- 11) a lú of *ig-rí-iš* in ARET 8, 534, 30 (V);
- 12) an ugula-sur_x-bar-an of Ibbi-zikir in ARET 8, 522, 5 (V);
- 13) a commissar of Duma- . . . in ARET 3, 82 VIII.

1.3. Finally, the reading of the onomastic element DU.DU as *gub-rá* should be considered. M. Krebernik (PET, p. 82) reads it as *du-du* and, relating it to *da-du*,⁹ translates it as “Liebling.” He bases his rendering on connections in the Eblaite vocabulary: šà-ki-ág = *du-du*, *tá-du-du* (MEE 4, p. 265, 584). The PN DU.DU is widely attested in the onomastics of the third millennium beginning with the ED IIIa documentation of Fara,¹⁰ where *da-da* and *da-dum* also occur,¹¹ and then in the ED IIIb texts of Lagaš¹² and Mari.¹³ Subsequently, DU.DU is frequently mentioned in the Old Akkadian onomastics, where the name was borne by the penultimate king of the Akkad dynasty; this was also the case in the onomastics of Ur III. The fuller writings *du-ú-du* and *du-du-ú* also appear.¹⁴

⁶ For other data which can be culled from the offerings of precious objects to the gods and which demonstrate the very early date of TM.75.G.1696 (the former part of the reign of Irkab-Damu), see my article “I rendiconti annuali di uscite di argento e le offerte alle divinità nella documentazione amministrativa di Ebla,” *AfO*, forthcoming.

⁷ A homonym šeš-2-eb kéš-da, described as lú u₉-NE-ni-ku-mu, is mentioned in TM.75.G.1743, r. VIII 10–11 (I). In the same text, 1,000 na-si₁₁ *ir-a-lum* are cited under the command of another Irba-Ze (r. XII 2–4), who should be identical with the official mentioned in ARET 2, 30, 7'. 18'. 21' (cf. n. 3 above).

⁸ Cf. also M. V. Tonietti, *Le liste delle dam en: Cronologia interna*, Miscellanea Eblaica 2 (Florence, 1989), p. 126.

⁹ Thus also H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*

in the Mari Texts (Baltimore, 1965), p. 182; I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (Chicago, 1980), p. 17; see also my article, “I nomi divini nei testi di Ebla,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 15 (1983): 149.

¹⁰ See my *La prosopografia dei testi presargonici di Fara* (Rome, 1987), pp. 66–67.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹² See V. V. Struve, *Onomastika rannedinasticeskogo Lagaša* (Moscow, 1984), p. 39, together with *da-da*, p. 34.

¹³ See D. Charpin, “Tablettes présargoniques de Mari,” *MARI* 5 (Paris, 1987), p. 87, 31, v. I 3, as well as a lú-kar *ma-rí^{ki}* mentioned in a text from Ebla: ARET 8, 542, 19.

¹⁴ T. Gomi and Y. and K. Hirose, *The Hirose Collection* (Ann Arbor, 1990), 307, r. 3; Th. Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen*

In addition, the earliest attestations of the onomastic element DU.DU seem to come from the Fara documentation: *a-du-du* and *é-du-du*,¹⁵ from Abu Šalābiḥ: *a-du-du*,¹⁶ ED III Adab: *é-du-du*,¹⁷ Ebla: *a-du-du*, *bù-du-du*, *da-zi-du-du*, *EN-zi-du-du*, *NI-du-du*, *šar-du-du* (see PET, p. 168), and perhaps ED IIIb Lagaš: *é-ki-du-du-gu*₁₀.¹⁸ Clear examples of the use of Dudu as a theophoric element come from Old Akkadian and Ur III texts: see *du-du-bàd-gu*₁₀,¹⁹ *du-du-ḥa-ma-ti*,²⁰ *lú^(d)du-du*,²¹ *šu-du-du*,²² and *ur-du-du*.²³ That in all these names the sequence DU.DU should be used to render two different values of the sign DU, which is quite rare for the period, seems rather improbable just as does its different reading and meaning (*gub-rá*, “big, fat,” and *du-du*, “beloved”) in the Ebla and Mesopotamian onomastics, respectively.

1.4. On the basis of these elements, it seems that the onomastic evidence presented in NABU 1993/75 in order to support the existence of a reading of DU as /gub/, already in the documentation of the third millennium has lost a large part of its validity. The reading of DU-*bù* 2 DU (that is, the translation of *giš-du-du*²⁴ in MEE 4, p. 240, 363) as *gub-bù* remains which can be linked to the Akkadian *kubbu*, “footstool.” This term, however, is mentioned exclusively in the Nuzi texts of the middle of the second millennium.²⁵ Thus we should return to Krebernik’s conclusions: “Für diesen (gub)—von Pettinato in 363: *kub-bù* (2-)DU vorausgesetzt Lautwert fehlen eindeutige Hinweise.”²⁶ But another element in support of the reading /gub/ of DU ought not to be overlooked, that is, the divine name AN.AN.DU of the ritual in ARET 2, 34 v. II 9 (AN.AN.DU). r. I 9 (AN.AN.DU-*ma*). II 4. III 4. v. I 2. III 3 (1 AN.AN.DU). r. IV 8 (2 AN.AN.DU). For this name, P. Fronzaroli has proposed the reading ^dan-gub on the basis of the mention of the dingir-meš *an-gu-ub-bu-ú* in a ritual from Mari without considering, however, the rarity of this reading and its implications for that of the toponym DU-*lu*^{ki}.²⁷

(Leiden, 1939), p. 7, v. 4; M. Sigris, *Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary* (Philadelphia, 1990), p. 102, r. 10 and passim. See also A. Pohl, TMH NF 1/2, 259, v. 1 and the genitive forms: *kirig-du-du-ma* (A. Falkenstein, NG 2, p. 179, 109, r. 2) and *ad-dakal-la dumu du-du-a* (P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* [Stuttgart, 1989], p. 228, 51, r. 9), which seem to exclude a reading of DU as *rá* here.

¹⁵ See my *La prosopografia*, pp. 4 and 76.

¹⁶ R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abu Šalābikh*, OIP 99 (Chicago and London, 1974), p. 34.

¹⁷ I. J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, and R. M. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*, OIP 104 (Chicago, 1991), p. 105, N. 33, v. 17.

¹⁸ See Struve, *Onomastika*, p. 45.

¹⁹ T. Gomi, *Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum* (Akiba, Japan, 1990), 416, r. 22.

²⁰ See H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* (Paris, 1968), p. 396; Archi and Pomponio, *Testi cuneiformi neo-sumerici da Umma* (Turin, 1995), 461, r. 4; 703, v. 1 14.

²¹ Steinkeller, *Third Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1992), p. 64, r. II 24; see also Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne*, p. 343.

²² See E. Sollberger, *The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur*, TCS 1,

pp. 110, 160.

²³ MAD 4, 14 v. 4; 21 r. 6; Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne*, p. 339; Sigris, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum* (Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1984), p. 721, v. 3. The use of *du-du* followed by a divine name is much rarer: cf. *du-du-na-rú-a* (MVN 6, 546, r. II 3').

²⁴ This term is not attested in the administrative documentation of Ebla.

²⁵ See CAD, vol. K, p. 482.

²⁶ Krebernik, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der Texte aus Ebla I,” ZA 72 (1982): 185: *gub-bù* should be a homophone of the term *gù-bù*, which in the texts of archive L.2712 (cf. ARET 9, p. 389) indicates a container for oils and resins; it is used also as a decorative object made of gold, silver, or bronze, as is documented in registers of metal expenditures: see 4 *mi-at* *ma-na kù-[bar₆]* 80 *gù-bù* . . . 3 *mi* 20 *ma-na kù-sig₁₇* 64 *gù-bù* *lú* 5 *ma-na* (TM.75.G.2286, r. V 8–VI 6 = G. Pettinato, *Ebla: Nuovi orizzonti di storia* [Milan, 1986], p. 402); 1 *gù-bù* 10 *ma-na* 50 *gín-dilmun zabar* (ARET 1, 30, 45, where it is mentioned together with the vase *bur-KAK*); *šušana gín-dilmun kù-bar₆ ni-zi-mu* 5 *gù-bù* (ARET 8, 539, 5). This container has to be linked with the Akkadian *quppu(m)*, “chest” (see CAD, vol. Q, pp. 307 ff.).

²⁷ P. Fronzaroli, “Il culto degli Angubbu a Ebla,” *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 2 (Florence, 1989), p. 9.

2. The passage which mentions Irba-Ze in the above-mentioned administrative text ARET 2, 15 contains the record of an Eblaite administrative act the meaning of which is still not clear. The passage in question is translated in *NABU* 1993/75: "1 golden-Martu-dagger for Irpeš-ZE, the man of Dazi-DUDU, which he took for Dubi." This translation is a good example of how difficult it is in Ebla administrative texts to establish the direction of the movement of goods if one does not take the context into account.²⁸ ARET 2, 15, v. III 1–IV 8 is indeed composed of two parallel sections.²⁹

1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	1 gold Amorite dagger
<i>du-bí-šum</i>	<i>lú du-bí-zi-kir</i>	for PN ₁ ,
<i>šu-še-gú</i> ³⁰	<i>ugula ir-a-lum</i>	the prof. name
<i>é-en</i>	<i>é-en</i>	of the palace of the king,
«1» <i>ap</i>	<i>ap</i>	and (besides)
1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	1 gold Amorite dagger
<i>lú ir-ba_x-zé</i>	<i>lú zi-kir-rí</i>	for PN ₂ ,
<i>lú da-zi-du-du</i>	<i>lú il-zi-da-mu</i>	(subordinate) of PN ₃ ,
<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	and
<i>šu-ba₄-ti-sù</i>	<i>šu-ba₄-ti-sù</i>	has received it
<i>du-bí</i>	<i>du-bí-zi-kir</i>	PN ₁ .

Thus PN₁, cited at the end of each of the two sections, is not the recipient of the second Amorite dagger, but the official who, after receiving the first dagger meant for him, is entrusted with another, similar one meant for one of his colleagues (PN₂), who was evidently absent.

2.1. The kind of goods allocated and their transfer seem to relate this sequence of transactions with that recorded in a much more ancient text, which should be attributed to the reign of Irkab-Damu (ARET 4, 16 [r. VII 10–VIII 3]). Nevertheless, this latter passage refers to a different administrative practice, which is widely attested in the Ebla texts, as we shall see below. Thus ARET 4, 16 r. VII 10–VIII 3 records:

²⁸ Concerning the direction of the movement of the goods of Dubi-šum and Dubi-zikir, the passage has been correctly translated by Pettinato, in "Il termine AB in Eblaita," *Or.*, n.s., 53 (1984): 326, ll. 17–18, which D'Agostino does not cite. Because Pettinato translates the conjunction *ap* as "si tratta di, cioè," however, he is forced to admit that in each of the two subsections of ARET 2, 15, r. IX 1–X 8 only one dagger is mentioned the provenance of which is indicated in the lines following *ap*, instead of two different daggers with two different recipients. According to Fronzaroli, "La congiunzione eblaita AP," *SEb* 4 (1981): 175, the meaning of *ap* in administrative texts is that of, at least in most cases, uniting records which differ qualitatively or by way of their destination. But it seems to me that, at least in the passages discussed above, its meaning could be that of emphasizing "il rapporto di successione dell'enunciato che introduce, rispetto all'enunciato precedente"; this is precisely the meaning the conjunction has in juridical texts.

²⁹ This passage, like those from ARET 4, 16 and TM.75.G.1781 and 1502, to be discussed below, has already been examined by M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, "Remboursement et passage de propriété d'objets en métal précieux," in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann,

Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla (Heidelberg, 1988), pp. 123–24.

³⁰ Pettinato, "Il termine AB," p. 326, n. 44, correctly translates this name as Semitic unlike the editor of ARET 2, but his "accostamento con l'accadico *tupšikkum/šupšikkum* 'corvée', quindi da considerare sinonimo di *ir-a-lum*" seems to me difficult from a graphic point of view. In the same way, the passage from the meaning "corvée" to "(capo) di coscritti" is problematic. It should be noted, however, that Dubi-šum in our text should probably be identified with the homonymous *ugula ir-a-lum* cited in texts of the same period (see ARET 8, 521, 23). A possible variant *su-šè-gú* occurs in ARET 1, 44, 5 (V), where it refers to the person responsible for 25 minas of silver being given to 500 workers. In a similar position to that of the *su-šè-gú* are cited in ARET 1, 44, 2–4, 6–8, only personal names (and so *su-šè-gú* is interpreted in PET, p. 284), but it is very probable that in this passage, as in ARET 2, 15, *šu-šè-gú* indicates a function, of medium to high importance, carried out by a single official. It should be added that in TM.75.G.1781 v. V 1 *šu-šè-gú* is mentioned as last but one in a list of seven recipients of a set of very valuable textiles (*ʿà-da-um-tùg-2-aktum-tùg-ib-sa₆-dar-tùg*).

1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig₁₇ ša-ù-um lú du-bí-zi-kir
 1 gír-mar-tu ba-du-u₉ kù-sig₁₇ ša-ù-um in-na-sum iš₁₁-da-mu
 1 gír-mar-tu ba-du-u₉ kù-sig₁₇ kù-bar₆ iš₁₁-da-mu in-na-sum eb-du-ma-lik.

One of the first problems in the interpretation of this passage is posed by the comparison between the Amorite daggers recorded in the single entries of the tablet and those listed in the an-šè-gú "total." We have in fact:

	Single entries	Total (v. XIV 8–XIII 2)
gold Amorite dagger	2 (r. VII 10) (XII 1)	1
gold Amorite dagger-ti		1
gold-plated Amorite dagger	1 (r. VII 13)	1
gold- and silver-plated Amorite dagger	1 (r. VII 17)	2
Amorite dagger of poor quality	2 (v. II 6)	
Amorite dagger []	1 (v. II 11)	

The best way to explain the inconsistency between the number of daggers recorded in the text (7) and the total number of daggers (5) seems to suggest that: *a*) the Amorite daggers of poor quality (hul) were not calculated in the total; *b*) one of the two gold Amorite daggers must have become in the total a gold Amorite dagger-ti;³¹ *c*) the Amorite dagger whose qualifying element is lost in a lacuna in the text should be considered a gold- and silver-plated Amorite dagger.

Regarding the meaning of the passage in question, the explanation which seems most probable is that the first dagger was given to Ša²um; the second dagger, which was of inferior quality, was delivered by him to Iš-Damu, and, consequently, the third dagger, of even poorer quality, was delivered by Iš-Damu to Ibdu-Malik. The three officials are also mentioned in two texts in connection with the allocation of gír-mar-tu³² and bracelets-gú-li-lum to ugulas of the groups of the é-duru₅ and of the ir-a-lum. In the first text (TM.75.G.1669),³³ Ša²um is mentioned as one of the two ugulas of the é-duru₅-7 (r. VII 5–6); in the other text (ARET 2, 30), Iš-Damu is mentioned as ugula-4, that is, ugula-(é-duru₅)-4 (v. I 7–8 and passim) and Ibdu-Malik as one of the two ugulas of the é-duru₅-máh (v. II 2–4).³⁴ The two texts should without a doubt be attributed to the same period as ARET 4, 16, that is, to the reign of Irkab-Damu.

2.2. Another record of the transfer of Amorite daggers, similar to the ARET 4, 16 passage because of the use of the verb sum (in the variant ì-na-sum compared to the previous in-na-sum) and the conjunction ap, but much more complex, is given in TM.75.G.1781, v. V 15–VIII 1. This text, like ARET 4, 16, is a monthly account of the delivery of textiles with the addition of manufactured articles made of precious metals.³⁵ It must date to the early part of the reign of Iš²ar-Damu, as the mention of a funerary offering for Irkab-Damu and Igrīš-Ḥalab suggests.³⁶ The passage in question, divided into subsections, follows below:³⁷

³¹ On the contrary, in MEE 2, 33, 1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig₁₇ (r. X 7) and 1 gír-mar-tu-ti kù-sig₁₇ (r. II 12) are recorded in the text, but 2 gír-mar-tu kù-sig₁₇ are calculated in the total (v. XII 5).

³² In these texts, the daggers of the highest quality are the gír-mar-tu kù-sig₁₇; those of the lowest quality, which are more frequently mentioned, are the gír-mar-tu ga-me-ù ("bound in") kù-bar₆.

³³ TM.75.G.1669 = Archi, "Notes on Eblaite Geography," *SEB* 2 (1980): 11–14.

³⁴ The reading ugula-<é-duru₅>-máh di PA.AL is preferable to that of šabra presented by the editor.

³⁵ The month in the text is the XI, while in ARET 2, 15 it is the XII and in ARET 4, 16 the I.

³⁶ See Biga and Pomponio, "Elements for a Chronological Division of the Administrative Documentation of Ebla," *JCS* 42 [1990]: 186, n. 16.

³⁷ See also Guzzo Amadasi, "Remboursement et passage de propriété d'objets en métal précieux," p. 123, l. 10.

a) 1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	mu-DU <i>ḥa-ra-ì</i>	ì-na-sum <i>ra-ì-zú</i>
b) <i>ap</i> 1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	<i>ra-ì-zú</i>	ì-na-sum <i>na-am₆-ì-giš</i>
c) <i>ap</i> 1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	<i>na-am₆-ì-giš</i>	ì-na-sum <i>na-am₆-ḥa-lu</i>
d) <i>ap</i> 1 gír-mar-tu kù-sig ₁₇	<i>na-am₆-ḥa-lu</i>	ì-na-sum <i>ìl-e-i-šar lú a-ma-ga</i>
e) <i>ap</i> 1 gír-mar-tu-ti <i>šà-lum</i> kù-sig ₁₇	<i>ìl-e-i-šar</i>	ì-na-sum <i>su-na-im</i> šu-i
f) <i>ap</i> 1 gír-mar-tu-ti kù-sig ₁₇	<i>su-na-im</i>	ì-na-sum <i>du-ḥa-lum</i> šu-mu-tag _x za _x en
g) <i>ap</i> 1 gír-mar-tu <i>ba-du-u₆</i> kù-bar ₆ -sig ₁₇	<i>du-ḥa-lum</i>	ì-na-sum <i>bu-da-[ì]</i> ḤÚB [?] .[KI [?]] ³⁸

Since the personal name which precedes *ì-na-sum* (and in the first entry follows the term *mu-DU*, “delivery”) indicates the deliverer of the *gír-mar-tu*, the name which follows *ì-na-sum* must indicate the person who receives the dagger, and thus the verbal form *ì-na-sum* has the same meaning for *in-na-sum* in the ARET 4, 16, r. VII 10–VIII 3 passage. All the officials mentioned in this passage, with the exception of *Ḥara-Il*, the source of the *mu-DU* of the first dagger, belong to the same category, namely, that of the *pa₄-šeš en* and their subordinates, one of whom carried out the function of *šu-i*³⁹ and another perhaps that of *ḤÚB.KI*. Thus the first two recipients of the daggers, *Raizu*⁴⁰ and *Nam-igiš*, are mentioned in ARET 4, 1, 1 (IV), both with the title of *pa₄-šeš en*, while *Nam-Ḥalu*, *Ile-Išar*, and *Su-Naim* are described as the *lú di Raizu* and are cited in the same order as in the passage of TM.75.G.1781. In later texts, *Nam-Ḥalu*, *Ile-Išar*, and *Su-Naim*, who are mentioned always in this order, are described as *pa₄-šeš en* (ARET 8, 531, 61: V); this appears to demonstrate the evolution of their careers.

The last official as well, *Duḥalum*, is described as a *pa₄-šeš en* in the late text ARET 8, 542, 16 (V). Given the context of TM.75.G.1781, the specification *šu-mu-tag_x za_x en*, which follows his name, could be translated “the deliverer of stones/maces (?) to the king,” rather than “for the delivery of stones/maces (?) to the king.” This description occurs also in ARET 3, 584 III, where *Duḥalum* is the recipient of a set of three textile items of little value (*gu-mug-túg*, *aktum-túg*, *ib×3-dar-túg*).⁴¹ Finally, *Buda-Il*, who in our text TM.75.G.1781 seems to have the professional name of *ḤÚB.KI*, as in ARET 1, 5, 78 (V), can be identified with the *dumu-nita* of the *pa₄-šeš en* *Ugušum* in ARET 3, 214 IV and 458, r. VI (IV).⁴²

Ḥara-Il is the source of the *mu-DU* of the first Amorite dagger from which the “chain” of allocations originated; in spite of the frequency of this anthroponym in Ebla, I believe that it is possible to identify the official in our text with the *lugal* who is mentioned in the *mu-DU* texts ARET 2, 13, 3 and MEE 2, 1 r. V 8. These texts can be attributed to the period between the reigns of *Irkab-Damu* and *Išar-Damu*. The above-mentioned official could also be identified with the high-ranking official who has numerous *maškim*s (cf.

³⁸ From this passage we may infer the different value of the various *gír-mar-tu*: thus the *gír-mar-tu-ti*, translated tentatively by Waetzoldt, in “Zur Bewaffnung des Heeres von Ebla,” *Oriens Antiquus* 29 (1990): 16, as “Martu-Dolch mit Mittelrippe,” and the *gír-mar-tu-ti šà-lum* were inferior to the simple *gír-mar-tu* and the *gír-mar-tu-ti šà-lum* was superior to the *gír-mar-tu-ti*. The differences among the first four daggers, which are described as *gír-mar-tu*, must be their weight in gold, even though it is not explicitly indicated.

³⁹ Thus in ARET 4, 18, 6 (IV) it states explicitly: *su-na-im* šu-i *pa₄-šeš en*.

⁴⁰ *Raizu* is the most important official belonging to

the category of *pa₄-šeš en* during the reign of *Išar-Damu*: see C. Simonetti, “Three Eblaite Officers: *ra-ì-zú*, *ì-ti-ḏNI-lam*, and *na-am₆-ì-giš*,” *Afo* 42 (1996): 176–80.

⁴¹ The same set of textiles is given to *Duḥalum* in TM.75.G.1741, r. I 7–15, during the same period as in TM.75.G.1781 (III), but in the former text his name is followed by the statement: *in* *šu-mu-tag_x SA+ZA_x^{ki} en*, “for the delivery to the palace of the king.” The parallel between *šu-mu-tag_x za_x en* and (*in*) *šu-mu-tag_x SA+KA_x^{ki} en* is impressive.

⁴² See also ARET 1, 16, 35–36 (IV), where *Buda-Il* is described as the *dumu-nita* of *Ugušum*.

ARET 1, p. 243; 3, pp. 274–75; 4, p. 245: IV) and $ka\check{s}_4$, “travelers” (ARET 1, 8, 38: IV) as subordinates, while in later texts, probably after his death, only his $lú$ are mentioned (cf. ARET 8, 521, 5; 531, 63; 533, 15; 542, 23).⁴³

2.3. Another passage concerning the transfer of decorative arms is recorded in the section which immediately follows in TM.75.G.1781 (v. VIII 2–13):

1 $\bar{i}b-lá$ 1 $si-d\bar{i}-tum$ 1 $g\bar{i}r-kun$ $k\bar{u}-sig_{17}$ $\bar{a}-g\bar{u}-lum$ $\bar{i}-na-sum$ $en-na-\bar{i}$ $lú$ $\bar{i}r-kab-ar$ $ugula-ká$
1 $\bar{i}b-lá$ 1 $g\bar{i}r-kun$ $k\bar{u}-sig_{17}$ $en-na-\bar{i}$ $lú$ $\bar{i}r-kab-ar$ $\bar{i}-na-sum$ $ki-a-\check{s}a-\check{h}a-ru_{12}$ $ugula$ $ti-sum^{ki}$.

The objects allocated here are not Amorite daggers but the belt, scabbard, and curved dagger, which are usually mentioned together as a set. It is interesting to note that the scabbard, $si-d\bar{i}-tum$, is missing in the second part of our passage; it seems, however, first to have been written and then erased by the scribe aware of his mistake, due evidently to this habit of citing the $si-d\bar{i}-tum$ between the $\bar{i}b-la$ and the $g\bar{i}r-kun$. Here, too, the arms transferred are registered in decreasing order of value; thus those received last are of less value quantitatively and not qualitatively, as we have seen above in the case of the Amorite daggers. As for the officials cited, the person who delivered the first set must have been someone of high rank, even though the term $mu-DU$ does not appear; he has the title $ugula$ $SA+ZA_x^{ki}$ in ARET 4, 25, 25 and is the one responsible for a “contribution” of 1,069 belts in ARET 1, 27, 1, where he is mentioned together with the $lugal$ Abu and is the beneficiary of a lamina of 40 shekels of gold mentioned in MEE 10, 20 v. XXIV 16–18.

The first of the recipients, Enna-II of Irkab-Ar, receives 1 $\bar{i}b-lá$ and 1 $g\bar{i}r-kun$, this time without a scabbard, on the occasion of his feast (hul) (MEE 10, 29 r. XI 5–18: IV).⁴⁴ The one who makes the delivery is an $ugula-ká$, Adam-Malik, like the superior of Enna-II in TM.75.G.1781.⁴⁵ The second recipient, Kia-Šaḥaru, even though his name is rare, must have a homonym (with the graphic variant of the PN $gi-a-\check{s}a-\check{h}a-ru_{12}$), who is described as a $\check{s}e\check{s}$ $\bar{i}r-am_6-da-ar$ (ARET 3, 973 I). The only relationship between $\bar{a}Agulum$, Enna-II of Irkab-Ar, and Kia-Šaḥaru seems to be that they belonged to the vast category of $ugulas$.

2.4. Another transfer of Amorite daggers, given to a group of recipients all of whom belonged to the $ugula$ category, is registered in a section of ARET 4, 7 (IV):

1 $g\bar{i}r-mar-tu$ $k\bar{u}-sig_{17}$ ne_x (GIBIL)- $za-\bar{i}$ $ugula-za_x$ wa $\bar{i}-na-sum$ $ip-qá-\bar{i}$ $ugula$ $sur_x-bar-an$ (57)
 ap 1 $g\bar{i}r-mar-tu-ti$ $k\bar{u}-sig_{17}$ $ip-qá-\bar{i}$ $\bar{i}-na-sum$ $ba-du-lum$ $ugula$ $sur_x-bar-an$ $i-bí-zi-kir$ (58).⁴⁶

Neza-II has the title of $ugula-za_x$ in the annual register of silver expenditures MEE 10, 29 (r. XI 3–4) as well, which can be dated a few years later than ARET 4, 7.⁴⁷ Regarding Ipqa-II and Badulum, the other two officials cited in the above-mentioned passage, it should be noted that:

⁴³ The same kind of citation seems to refer to former dependents of the deceased Ebrium in texts of the same period (see Biga and Pomponio, “Elements for a Chronological Division,” p. 180, no. 2).

⁴⁴ In addition, Enna-II of Irkab-Ar delivers two sets of textiles for the $\bar{i}-gi\check{s}-sag$ of two officials in ARET 4, 23, 16, for the same period as in MEE 10, 29.

⁴⁵ Adam-Malik is also the source of the delivery of a set of three textiles to another official, Gira-Malik, for the same occasion (in u_4 $hul-sù$) (ARET 3, 4.66, v. III).

⁴⁶ According to my interpretation, in this passage, as in those discussed above, the first dagger, which

belonged to PN_1 , has been given by him to PN_2 ; consequently, the second dagger was passed from PN_2 to PN_3 . In the opinion of the editor, on the other hand, PN_2 would have given the first dagger to PN_1 and, in turn, would have received the second dagger from PN_3 (see ARET 4, p. 74).

⁴⁷ In a preceding section of ARET 4, 7 (12) a $ne_x-za-\bar{i}$ is mentioned together with fourteen other persons, all recipients of 1 $\bar{i}b-sag-dar-túg$. The list of personal names is concluded by the title $ugula-sur_x-bar-an$, which no doubt refers only to the last name ($\bar{a}-gàr$).

- a) Ipqa-II is described as ugula-sur_x-bar-an in ARET 1, 15, 46, the same year and month as that in ARET 4, 7;⁴⁸
- b) The ceremony ì-giš-sag of Ipqa-II, this time described as ugula-sur_x-bar-an en, is registered in ARET 4, 18, 28, two months later than in ARET 4, 7, and the same title is given both to Ipqa-II in ARET 1, 4, 78' and to Badulum in ARET 4, 3, 9 and 8, 525, 28, which were recorded some years later than the above-cited texts.

2.5. The transfer of goods under discussion is not limited to decorative arms. See the following passages, which belong to monthly textile accounts of the same period (IV):

1 ma-na kù-sig₁₇ 1 dib-gibil *gi-rí*
1 dib ša-pi *gi-rí* ì-na-sum *a-ba-ga* (ARET 4, 8, 34–35).

Since Giri is a dumu-nita of Ebrium,⁴⁹ Abaga, to whom he delivers the lamina, should probably be identified with the homonymous lú of Ebrium (see, for example, ARET 3, 775 V; 8, 525, 18).

1 dig-gibil ku₅ *na-am₆-ha-lu*
ap 1 *gú-li-lum* kù-bar₆-sig₁₇ 50-2 *na-am₆-ha-lu* ì-na-sum su-na-im šu-i
ap 1 *gú-li-lum* kù-bar₆-sig₁₇ šušana-2 *su-na-im* gi₄ é-en (ARET 1, 1, 83"–85").

The two officials cited here have been discussed above in connection with TM.75.G.1781, and belong, although with different rank, to the category of pa₄-šēš en.

1 dib-gibil 50 (gín) *ra-i-zú*
1 dib ša-pi lú *ra-i-zú* ì-na-sum *ip-ḥur-ì* lú *i-rí-ik-gú-nu*
1 dib ku₅-5 *ip-ḥur-ì* gi₄ é-en (ARET 1, 10, 65–67).
1 *gú-li-lum* kù-bar₆-sig₁₇ ku₅-2 *il-e-i-šar* lú *ag-ga* ì-na-sum *ti-la-ì a-da-bí-gú^{ki}*
ap 1 *gú-li-lum* kù-bar₆-sig₁₇ *ti-la-ì* gi₄ é-en (ARET 4, 7, 59–60).

We can hypothesize in these four passages as well that the first official received a decorative object as a sign of his passage to a more advanced stage of his career, while an object of the same type but of lesser value, which he had previously owned, was transferred to the official who had occupied his former position. Unlike the passages discussed above, however, in ARET 1, 1, 85"; 10, 67; 4, 7, 60, the last object in the "chain" would not be given to an official of lower rank but would have been returned to the administrative center of its provenance, namely, to the "palace of the king." On the other hand, in ARET 1, 1, 83"; 10, 65; 8, 34, the first object to be allocated does not come from another official, who in fact is not mentioned, since it is indicated as gibil, "new."

2.6. In another transfer of laminas, rather than the actual mention of the object, the amount of gold to be used for its manufacture is recorded:

57 gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ 1 dib *ib-bí-um* wa in-na-sum *ti-ti-nu* ugula-za_x *eb-rí-um*
ap 1 dib ša-pi kù-sig₁₇ lú *ti-ti-nu* in-na-sum *ne_x-za-il* dumu-nita šēš *eb-rí-um*
ap 1 dib ku₅ kù-sig₁₇ lú *ne_x-za-i* wa in-na-sum ì-lum-bala maškim *za-ba-rúm⁵⁰* šu-du₈ *ba-da-lum*
lú <x>-a-<x>-tum^{ki} (TM.75.G.2281, r. II 11–III 18).

Among the above-mentioned officials, we are able to reconstruct a good deal of the career of Titinu, the recipient of the first lamina; he is mentioned with the title of "commis-

⁴⁸ For this dating, see my note "A Correction regarding the Internal Dating of the Ebla Texts," *NABU* 1994/53.

⁴⁹ See Archi, *ARES* 1, p. 233.

⁵⁰ The maškims of Zabaram frequently carried out the function of šu-du₈; see ARET 3, 216 I; 263 II 3; 806 II 4; MEE 10, 21, v. IV 10–15 and passim.

sioner of Ebrium,"⁵¹ undoubtedly a title of lower rank than that of ugula-za_x of Ebrium,⁵² which occurs in our text, in a much earlier document. Here he receives a lamina of gold weighing 40 shekels: 1 dib ša-pi gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ lú i-za-iš-lu lú-kar ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} wa in-na-sum ti-ti-nu maškim eb-rí-um (ARET 3, 468, r. IV). Thus the object in question is identical to that which Titinu gives up in TM.75.G.2281. In a still earlier text, which can be dated to the latter part of the reign of Irkab-Damu, Titinu's name occurs in a transfer of Amorite daggers. These objects are surely less valuable than the gold laminas in TM.75.G.2281 and in ARET 3, 468:

1 gír-mar-tu ba-du-u₉ kù-sig₁₇ lú ti-ti-nu in-na-sum en-na-il lú an:zam_x ugula igi-nita

1 gír-mar-tu ba-du-u₉ kù-bar₆ lú [en-n]a-il in-na-sum du-bí šu-i eb-rí-um (TM.75.G.1784, v. V 18–VII 2).

In the above-mentioned texts, it is probable that Ibbium, who gives the lamina to Titinu in TM.75.G.2281, is the ugula-é in TM.75.G.1705, v. II 6–7 (IV).⁵³ Neza-II, the son of a brother of Ebrium, to whom Titinu gives his lamina in TM.75.G.2281, may be identified with the ugula-za_x (-en) in some texts from the early part of the reign of Išar-Damu (see, for example, MEE 10, 2, r. VIII 9–11; 29, r. XI 3–4). Enna-II, described with the same title (lú an:zam_x ugula igi-nita) in TM.75.G.1784,⁵⁴ is the one who received a purchased gír-mar-tu ba-du-u₉ kù-bar₆ in ARET 3, 417 IV and a dagger of the same kind in ARET 1, 14, 26 (III): it is possible that the gír-mar-tu of ARET 3, 417 and of ARET 1, 14 was part of an annual delivery to the officials belonging to a particular category⁵⁵ or was given as a gift during a particular celebration.⁵⁶ At any rate, the bestowal of decorative objects seems to be connected to a rise in rank.

2.7. In another passage, subdivided into two sections, a transfer of laminas is registered; in the first section, 1 gold lamina weighing 40 shekels passes from Buti to Maḥra-Damu, described as dumu-nita en, and another gold lamina, but one weighing less (30 shekels), passes from him to his brother Ilumma-aḥi; in the second section of the text, the previous owner of the first lamina is not mentioned, as we have already seen in three examples (see sec. 2.5 above). In fact, the lamina in question is defined as "new." This gold lamina, weighing 37 shekels, is given to Ida-Nikimu, and a lamina weighing less (30 shekels) is given by Ida-Nikimu to his brother In-Ada. These two figures, like Maḥra-Damu and Ilumma-aḥi in the previous passage, belong to the group of the dumu-nita en of the first generation.⁵⁷

1 dib ša-pi gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ lú bù-ti lú en-zi-da-mu ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} in-na-sum maḥ-ra-da-mu dumu-nita en

⁵¹ As maškim of Ebrium, in the same text (r. VIII), he is entrusted with two sets of textiles to be given to two brothers of a dam of Ebrium. The nearly homonymous *ti-ti-na* is not to be identified with this subordinate of Ebrium. Titina is the purchaser of 330 textiles in ARET 1, 28, 1, while in the preceding section of this tablet Ebrium purchased a number of textiles amounting to ten times those of Titina. He is also mentioned in registers of mu-DU lugal-lugal belonging to the earliest period, as the one who delivers 2 minas of silver (MEE 2, 15, r. V 5–6; TM.75.G.1459, r. VI 3–5; in this latter text, his mu-DU is followed by that of Ebrium, which consists of 4 minas of silver).

⁵² In the fragment ARET 3, 860 II, of uncertain date, where a maškim di Titinu is mentioned, Titinu has the title of lú-za_x, which perhaps should be con-

sidered a synonym for ugula-za_x.

⁵³ See also the delivery of wool intended for 160 girdles of ir₁₁-ir₁₁ and received by Ibbium, in all probability the superior of this personnel (MEE 10, 3, v. X 1–6).

⁵⁴ The Enna-II described as lugal/ugula-igi-nita in texts of mu-DU, dated to the earlier part of the reign of Irkab-Damu (MEE 2, 36, v. III 1–33; TM.75.G.1559, r. VI 11–12), is only a homonym of our Enna-II.

⁵⁵ Here it should be noted that ARET 4, 16 is dated to the month I. TM.75.G.1784 and ARET 3, 417 do not give the name of the month.

⁵⁶ Cf., for example, the delivery of 1 íb-lá and 1 gír-kun to Enna-II of Irkab-Ar on the occasion of his feast (see sec. 2.3 above).

⁵⁷ See Archi, ARES 1, pp. 223 ff.

ap 1 dib ku₅ kù-sig₁₇ lú maḥ-ra-da-mu in-na-sum i-lum-ma-a-ḥi šeš-sù
 1 dib ku₅ 7 gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ gibil in-na-sum i-da-ni-ki-mu
 ap 1 dib ku₅ kù-sig₁₇ i-da-ni-ki-mu in-na-sum i-in-^{d2}à-da šeš-sù (TM.75.G.1793, v. VII 16–VIII 1).

Because of his relationship to members of the royal family and the value of the object given to him, Buti, who is described as “the man of Enzi-Malik of Manuwat,” must be a person of high rank. He may thus be identified with the superior of some of the officials cited in texts later than TM.75.G.1793 (cf. ARET 8, 524, 51; MEE 10, 20, v. XXV 1–2). Enzi-Damu of Manuwat, under whose direction Buti was in our passage, may be the dumu-nita of the en of Manuwat. The following passages, however, should be kept in mind:

en-zi-da-mu lú-kar ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} (ARET 3, 468, r. V);
 en-zi-da-mu dumu-nita en ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} lú-kar (ARET 3, 470, r. II).

From these passages, we can infer that this son of the king of Manuwat had held the office of lú-kar. This function was of low rank at Ebla but perhaps not at Manuwat, despite the large number of lú-kar mentioned in passages connected with this state.⁵⁸ In other passages, too, a lú-kar of Manuwat supplies a gold lamina weighing 40 shekels in a transfer of these objects⁵⁹ and is the recipient of laminas of even greater weight:

1 ma-na 19 gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ 1 dib mu-DU du-ub^{ki} wa ò-na-sum iš₁₁-a-ne-ḥar lú-kar ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} (ARET 4, 12, 9); 50 gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ 1 dib lú en-na-ni-il in-na-sum a-ma-il lú-kar ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} (ibid. 11).

What is most interesting in the passage of TM.75.G.1793 is that the transfer of decorative objects does not happen among officials of the same category and of different rank but among the sons of the king of Ebla. Of course, this fraternal relationship does not exclude the possibility that these dumu-nita en carried out functions of different rank at court and that these functions could be transferred from one brother to another.

2.8. The transfer of goods concerns not only decorative objects, but also the exceptional case of a set of textiles:

1 à-da-um-túg-1 1 aktum-túg 1 íb-4-sa₆-dar-túg 1 gú-li-lum kù-bar₆-sig₁₇ sušana-2 en-da-mu (ARET 1, 16, 9)
 1 gu-mug-túg 1 SAL-túg 1 íb-3-dar-túg 1 gú-li-lum a-gar₅ kù-sig₁₇ ku₅2 en-da-mu wa ò-na-sum i-ti-lum (ARET 1, 16, 11).

Of course En-Damu did not give his textiles to Iti-ilum; the latter set of textiles is included, as the former one was, in the an-šè-gú and then comes from the administrative center where the text was drawn up. Yet, judging from the passage ARET 4, 16, 11, we must assume that there was a relationship between En-Damu and Iti-ilum, even though there is no further evidence of this in the available documentation. Furthermore, considering that both the set of textiles and the bracelet given to En-Damu are of greater value than those En-Damu delivered to Iti-ilum, we can hypothesize that the former set of textiles and the bracelet were given to En-Damu on the occasion of his promotion and that at the same time he was entrusted with another less valuable set, which was to be transferred to the official who replaced him.

⁵⁸ A. Archi, P. Piacentini, and F. Pomponio, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla*, ARES 2, pp. 351–52.

⁵⁹ Cf. ARET 3, 468, r. IV (see sec. 2.5 above) and ARET 1, 14, 32, where the transfer of the lamina is

not followed by the delivery of other laminas: 1 dib GÁ×LÁ ša-pi gín-dilmun kù-sig₁₇ lú íb-lul-zú lú-kar ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} ò-na-sum en-na-be a-a-lu^{ki}.

2.9. In a final passage, the subject of the account is the amount of gold destined to be turned into laminas, and this concerns the registered transfers of all goods, not only the first item, as in TM.75.G.2281 (see sec. 2.5 above):

1 ma-na šušana [kù-sig₁₇] 1 dib *ib-du-ra wa ì-na-sum ik-su-ub-da-mu* dumu-nita en
 ku₅ kù-sig₁₇ 1 dib *ik-su-ub-da-mu wa ì-na-sum zé-da-mu* šušana kù-sig₁₇ 1 dib *zé-da-mu é-en*
 (TM.75.G.2242, v. VIII 3–IX 3: IV).

Despite this difference in the texts, the amounts of metal are registered in decreasing order and the é-en, which concludes the sequence of transfers indicates, in my opinion, that the 20 shekels of gold for 1 lamina have been returned to Ze-Damu to the king's palace: thus we have here a shortened formula for the gi₄ é-en in ARET 1, 1, 85" and ARET 4, 7, 60, discussed above. In our passage, as in TM.75.G.1793, v. VII 16–VIII 1 (see sec. 2.7 above), the last-mentioned recipients of laminas are dumu-nita en, who in this case belong to the second generation.⁶⁰ Ipdura, the supplier of the first quantity of gold, is the person responsible for a center-za_x. The ugula-za_x Tila-II (see ARET 7, 102–3) and a good number of maškims depended on this official (see, for example, ARET 1, 15, 22, 26). In another text, Ipdura is mentioned as the recipient of textiles together with the queen mother Dusigu (ARET 2, 58).

2.10. In summary, the administrative practice of the transfer of decorative objects is well attested in the Ebla texts. Decorative objects of gold or silver (such as arms, like the Amorite dagger; the belt, scabbard, and curved dagger set; laminas; or bracelets) were transferred from one official to another, in all probability, as sign of an advancement and succession to office. This practice seems to have applied to members of the royal family as well. Since the advancement of an official often involved that of another in order that the latter might occupy the position previously held by the former and so on, we may find a series of these transfers of manufactured articles registered in the same section of a text. The point of departure and arrival of these transferred objects must always have been the same, that is, the palace of the king, but, at least in some cases (see secs. 2.8 and 2.9 above), all the transferred objects (or the quantities of precious metals destined to be used for their manufacture), and not only the first in the "chain," were supplied by this center. Formally, however, and perhaps also in fact, they appear always to have been delivered by the promoted official to his successor. In accordance with this interpretation, the transferred objects were always of different value, with regard to their weight, material, quality, or number of their components, with those of greater value preceding those of lesser value.

⁶⁰ See again Archi, ARES 1, pp. 224 ff.

The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew. Vol. 1A. Edited by DAVID J. A. CLINES. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993. Pp. 475. \$80.

Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions. Pt. 1. 2-L. Pt. 2. M-T. By J. HOFTIJZER and K. JONGELING. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, vol. 21. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995. Pt. 1, pp. lxxi + 585; pt. 2, pp. ix + 586–1266.

It is not often that two dictionaries of this novelty and quality—not to mention price—cross one's desk.¹ *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH) is the first volume (of eight projected) of the first ever of its kind, i.e., a dictionary that

covers all extant Hebrew texts from approximately the first millennium of the known usage of the language, that is, from the first known inscriptions to the second century A.D. The *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (DNSI) is a totally new and expanded version of an old classic, the *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, begun by Charles F. Jean (two fascicles were published in 1954), then revised and completed after Jean's death by J. Hoftijzer (issued in fascicles from 1960 to 1965). Hoftijzer signs on as the first author of this version² and thus forms the bridge between the various forms of this four-decade project.

The new Hebrew dictionary is novel in several respects, of which the most important are: (1) its coverage ("classical" Hebrew has for purposes of dictionaries and grammars often been equated with Biblical Hebrew); (2) the organization of each entry not only according to the various attested meanings, but also according to usage by syntactic categories (for each verb, for example, all attested subjects, objects, and prepositional complements are listed); (3) its abandonment of etymology as a lexicographical tool (no etymologies are given and entries are arranged alphabetically rather than under roots, the traditional form of organization adopted in many Semitic-language dictionaries; there is, however, after each verbal entry a list of words identifiable as derivatives from that root).

Only the highest praise can be given to the first two features. While the Hebrew language certainly changed over the thousand years covered here, and while several dialects are certainly

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¹ There has been somewhat of a ferment in Hebrew lexicography recently. In 1987 appeared the first fascicle (A-1) of the eighteenth edition of Wilhelm Gesenius' classic *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (prepared by U. Rüterswörden, R. Meyer, and H. Donner and published in Berlin), the first completely new revision since the seventeenth edition was published in 1921 (the editor's preface to that edition is actually dated 1915). Then, between the two dictionaries reviewed here, there appeared in 1994 the first volume (A-1) of an English translation and edition by M. E. J. Richardson et al. of the *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden, 1967–90) itself a new edition of the *Lexikon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, signed by L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner in 1953 (this first edition was reproduced photomechanically in 1958 but with a 227-page supplement). The new translation bears a title, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, that is a direct translation of the German title and it also is published by Brill. This dictionary has had a curiously ambivalent German/English nature: the first edition provided glosses in both German and English (only the title was in Latin), the supplement to the second printing provided a German-Hebrew glossary but not an English-Hebrew one, while the second edition was in German only, which is now translated into an all-English version.

² The edition completed by Hoftijzer has commonly been dubbed the "Jean-Hoftijzer," and generations of students have had to be disabused of the first impression that the initial in Jacob Hoftijzer's name stands for "Jean," a mythical French scholar with a Dutch family name.

represented here (the Hebrew Bible itself contains elements of more than one dialect) and there must therefore be no perception of this dictionary as covering a linguistic unity, it is nonetheless useful to find listed in one place all the words in the various texts that clearly predate the new literature that began with the Mishna.

As for the second feature, the listing of the principal forms of complementation ("syntagmatic analysis") of each word is the most radically useful feature of the dictionary: now the reader of X-text coming across Y-idiom has only to turn to the *DCH* (of course the idiom must, for the time being, begin with ²*aleph*) to discover immediately whether the idiom occurs again or not. Moreover, there is a list of synonyms and antonyms for each word ("paradigmatic analysis"), and parallel pairs (e.g., "eat/drink") are thus listed more thoroughly than in previous Hebrew dictionaries. The enduring value of the *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary* (1907 edition by F. Brown, G. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs) as compared with more current dictionaries has been its attention to idioms; the thoroughness of the "syntagmatic" and "paradigmatic" analyses in *DCH* means that a major step has been taken in the analysis and charting of the language, and it is only to the benefit of the serious student of the texts.

What a shame, then, that lexicographic political correctness and expediency led the editor to abandon the pursuit of etymology and hence the production of a more complete dictionary. (Virtually) everyone realizes now that one does not write a dictionary entry on the basis of etymology. As has been said many times, a word means what it means in its own language, not in another. That being said, however, the practice of providing etymological information, traditional in Hebrew studies, still has its uses. (1) Based on the results of a long history of research in comparative Semitics, it provides the student with an instant access to that tradition of study. (As a Northwest Semitist only capable of delving into the Arabic dictionary as an amateur, I have long believed that one of the great desiderata in Comparative Semitics is a modern etymological dictionary of Arabic, for it would not only make it easier for people like me to relate the Arabic

entry to the broader Semitic picture, but would also give professional Arabists a broader view.)³ (2) By means of individual words, it provides the student with links to other literatures: one may not, of course, simply define a Hebrew word on the basis of the meaning of a Ugaritic or Arabic cognate, but the passages in which the word occurs in each language may be mutually illuminating, and the etymological entry in a Hebrew dictionary at the very least provides a link to the broader literary picture. (3) Last but certainly not least, the "Classical" Hebrew corpus is comparatively small, and it contains a fairly large number of rarely attested words, even *hapax legomena*; for these, the resort to etymology is sometimes more than a luxury. If the context leaves open the possibility of more than one interpretation, basing one's gloss on a usage in a cognate language is preferable to flipping a coin. The reader of this dictionary will sometimes wonder where a given gloss could possibly have come from; only the consultation of other dictionaries and the commentaries will inform the puzzled reader that glosses for rare words in obscure contexts are usually based on a combination of modern etymological research and the interpretations of the medieval commentators.

The similarities and differences between these two lexicographic projects are fascinating. They both cover roughly the same period (*DNSI* includes the third century A.D.), they both eschew etymology (though by its very nature *DNSI* covers an important part of the range of the etymological information in a Hebrew dictionary), and they both list entries alphabetically rather than by root (*DNSI* does not even provide the list of derivatives from verbal roots that is found in *DCH*).⁴ They differ in that *DNSI* covers most

³ To some extent this desideratum is being provided by the *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* (edited by David Cohen; four fascicles have appeared, 1 and 2 published by Mouton; 3 and 4 by Peeters), but it is also a useful thing to have the view facing out, as it were, from a single language.

⁴ Words with different graphic/phonetic realizations in the different dialects are listed under the Phoenician/Hebrew form. Thus later Aramaic *dhb*, 'gold', is listed at ZHB. If one is to do a dictionary covering

dialects of the three language groups covered, Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew (sixteen languages and dialects are listed in p. ix); *DNSI* does not list syntactic complementation as systematically as does *DCH*; and *DNSI* provides fairly full bibliographical information on the interpretation of problematic words and passages, while there is no such information in *DCH*.

The principal characteristics of *DNSI* that strike the first-time user are: (1) the abandonment of the square Hebrew script used in the first edition for lemmata in favor of transliteration into Roman script (an excellent thing, since, as is stated in the introduction, "for a huge majority of the texts it [the use of Hebrew script] would only be a different transcription" [p. xv]); (2) the extraordinary density of each entry, with no paragraph breaks and only two typographical indicators of transitions (bold typeface for language/dialect names and a bold-face "¶" for the transition from forms to glosses); and (3) the extent to which the variety of opinion on the interpretation of words, including the authors' own, is indicated. Because of the latter two characteristics, it takes patience to plow through an entry and find the treatment of a given passage, extraordinary patience in the case of long entries, but one's patience is rewarded with a good over-

view of the problems and a good set of links to the secondary literature.⁵ Further patience is required in the glossary section, for it is organized by meanings, rather than by dialects, and the reader is thus required to sort out the dialectal distributions of the meanings on his own.

At the end of vol. 2 are two appendixes: (1) "Glossary of New Readings from TADAE C" by B. Porten⁶ (pp. 1237–48), and (2) "A Selective Glossary of Northwest Semitic Texts in Egyptian Script" by Richard C. Steiner and Adina Mosak Moshavi (pp. 1249–66). Because the dictionary itself is not a concordance listing all attestations of a word, the primary function of the first appendix appears to be to make sure that all new readings of texts edited by Cowley are registered (and to include the data from vol. 3 of *TADAE*, which was not published until after the cut-off date of 1991 for including new textual material in the dictionary). The second appendix reflects the work currently being done by Steiner and others on texts, long known but only now being deciphered and interpreted, that are written in Egyptian scripts but record Northwest Semitic languages, principally Aramaic.

Though Hoftijzer/Jongeling are at the end of their project, while Clines and his crew have only just begun, all are to be warmly congratulated for providing us with such eminently useful tools for the study of these languages.

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several closely related languages, this seems to be an eminently sensible solution, especially as there is a cross-reference in each such case. One is all the more mystified, then, to find that *bn* and *br*, respectively the Phoenician/Hebrew and Aramaic forms of the word for 'son', occupy separate entries, each with its own listings of feminine (*bt*, 'daughter') and plural forms (masculine and feminine both built off the base form *bn-*) that are basically identical in the two language groups. The words for the cardinal number 'two' in the two language groups, *šnym* and *tryn*, also occupy separate entries. This arrangement is surprising because the Aramaic forms with *t/r* are surely inner-Aramaic developments from the same roots as the Phoenician/Hebrew forms, as is indicated by the occurrence of the same development in modern South Arabic. The South Arabic languages belong to a branch of Semitic quite distinct from Aramaic, and it is untenable to assume two different roots in each of these cases in the two language groups (see D. Testen, *JNES* 44 [1985]: 143–46). Strictly speaking, therefore, *bn/br* are related to each other very much as are *zhh* and *dhh*.

⁵ I was disappointed, however, at finding that my detailed refutation of Hoftijzer's interpretation of Lachish Letter 3: 19–21 is not cited here on p. 147 (see *JNES* 49 [1990]: 93).

⁶ "TADAE" in this title stands for *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, of which three volumes have been edited to date by Porten and Ada Yardeni, and "C" stands for "Cowl," which in turn stands for A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923). In the introduction (p. xvi), this appendix is described as only including "those words for which a new reading and/or interpretation was proposed in the recent Achiqar [!] edition" prepared by Porten and Yardeni. The title of the appendix itself is more accurate, for the appendix contains references to many of the texts edited by Cowley.

Phoenicia and the Bible: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Leuven on the 15th and 16th of March 1990. Edited by E. LIPÍŃSKI. *Studia Phoenicia*, vol. 11. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, no. 44. Leuven: Peeters and Orientalistiek Departement, 1991. Pp. ix + 244. 2, 950 Belgian francs.

After a truly remarkable introduction (pp. 1–9), in which the editor not only introduces the theme of the conference, but “does” scholarship (extensive bibliographical footnotes, presentation of various theses, e.g., Tarshish was in Spain, etc.) to the point of stating his disagreements with some of the authors he is editing (with A. Lemaire in n. 16, p. 3; with Y. B. Tsirkin in n. 24, p. 5), come the texts of thirteen papers presented at the conference: “The Material Culture of Phoenicia and Israel” (pp. 11–16) by C. H. J. de Geus; “Anthroponymes et toponymes du récit d’Ounamon” (pp. 17–83) by A. Scheepers (perspectives of an Egyptologist on these names, several of which represent Phoenician onomastics); “Phoenicians, Sikils, and Israelites in the Light of Recent Excavations at Tel Dor” (pp. 85–94) by E. Stern (archaeological assessment of the identification in Egyptian sources of the inhabitants of Dor as *T3-k3-r*, one of the “Philistine” groups, mentioned also in a text from Ugarit [RS 34.129]); “The Black-on-Red or Cypro-Phoenician Ware” (pp. 95–102) by F. de Créé; “Mount Saphon in Myth and Fact” (pp. 103–15) by P. N. Hunt (the importance of Mount Saphon in Levantine thought as an aspect of the geological and climatological features of Jabal al-Aqra’); “Japheth’s Progeny and the Phoenicians” (pp. 117–34) by Y. B. Tsirkin (Gen. 10 dated to the first half of the seventh century B.C.E., more particularly ca. 675); “Asher et le royaume de Tyr” (pp. 135–52) by A. Lemaire (the control of the territory of Asher, situated north of Dor to Tyre, would have been brief, extending only from towards the end of the reign of David to the twenty-fourth year of Solomon, ca. 945 B.C.E.); “The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher” (pp. 153–66) by E. Lipiński (the territory of Asher would in fact have been the territory of Tyre, attributed to Asher in a late redaction, ca. 400 B.C.E.; the tribe of Asher would have lived in the area without ever having controlled it); “King Solomon’s Copper Supply” (pp. 167–86) by E. A. Knauf (the fantastic nature of the

details given in the Bible regarding Solomon’s acquisition and treatment of copper can be incorporated into a healthy attitude towards the Biblical traditions regarding Solomon: these can neither be accepted trustingly nor denied nihilistically but explained as later traditions reflecting various degrees of historical reliability); “Phoenician Deities Worshipped in Israel and Judah during the Time of the First Temple” (pp. 187–91) by H. J. Katzenstein (there was a return to “monotheistic religion” in the time of Josiah); “Molek and ΑΡΧΩΝ” (pp. 193–208) by J. Lust (an assessment of the translation of Hebrew *mōlek* in the Septuagint by ἄρχων: *mōlek* was interpreted as meaning ‘king’ but for contextual and theological reasons this status was “downgraded” to that of ‘prince’ or ‘leader’); “Le costume phénicien des stèles d’Umm el-Amed” (pp. 209–30) by A. Maes; “Le groupe en bronze de Ṭarṭūs avec la tyché et le trophée” (pp. 231–41) by G. Dareggi (since the publication of this study of a particularly striking “trophy,” the word ‘trophy’ has appeared in a five-line Phoenician inscription from Cyprus: see M. Yon and M. Szymer, “Une inscription phénicienne royale de Kition [Chypre],” *Comptes rendues de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* [Paris, 1991], pp. 791–821).

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Purity and Monotheism: Clean and Unclean Animals in Biblical Law. By WALTER HOUSTON. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 140. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993. Pp. 314. \$70.

Houston is to be congratulated for giving us a very interesting study of some of the literarily most boring texts in the Hebrew Bible, viz., the lists of clean and unclean animals in Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14. The interest comes in part from the variety that the author has chosen as his method of approach but even more from his personal assessments of the results provided by each methodological perspective. He has clearly been trained in the venerable British tradition of thinking, as opposed to much that passes for scholarship in some academic circles, where assertion often replaces reason and blind pursuit of

a given method or of the latest intellectual fad replaces careful personal evaluation of the data. One may agree or disagree with Houston, but one can at least debate with him because he has at each step provided his reasons for reaching a given conclusion.

In his introduction, Houston presents the two principal approaches to anthropological data using the terminology of Marvin Harris, i.e., "etic" (a structure devised by outside observers to explain phenomena) and "emic" (the point of view of the group living the phenomena, which the anthropologist must interpret as though deciphering a language or cracking a code). In Houston's view, both the etic and emic approaches have their value; any cultural situation consists of a combination of material and ideological factors and attempting to organize and explain them from our perspective or in the subject's terms can both provide enlightenment. In realizing his study based on these two primary perspectives, he follows W. G. Runciman in breaking his investigation down into four steps: (1) "reportage," in this case a literary analysis of the texts at hand (including some text/source-historical evaluations, but relatively little basic philological work, considering that about all that can be done has been done in the matter of identifying the species denoted in the Hebrew text); (2) "explanation," here an evaluation of previous hypotheses and presentation of his own having to do with "the use of animals for food and sacrifice in the Syria-Palestine area for the last two millennia BC" (p. 25); (3) "description," an attempt to describe the phenomena as perceived by the subjects, in the case at hand an attempt at describing the Priestly and Deuteronomistic theologies of purity and holiness in the context of monotheistic ideology; (4) "evaluation," i.e., "saying whether whatever it was was a good or bad thing" [ibid.]. Houston follows this program throughout the book: chap. 2 is reportage (pp. 26-67), chaps. 3-5 explanation (pp. 68-217), chap. 6 description (pp. 218-58), and chap. 7 evaluation (pp. 259-82).

It is clear from the number of pages devoted to each aspect of the investigation that "explanation" received the lion's share of the attention, in part because Houston devotes much space to presenting and evaluating previous explanations, but more importantly because he himself clearly

considers the archaeological and extrabiblical textual data to have been given inadequate consideration by his predecessors and hence presents those data in some detail. Only the last section may be considered truncated, however, in the sense that the author does not evaluate the laws of purity in either the Israelite or Jewish contexts, but their rejection by his own community, i.e., Christians (chap. 7 is entitled "Monotheism without Purity").

Briefly stated, Houston's conclusions are that the Israelite dietary laws represent more or less standard dietary and sacrificial practice going back at least to the beginning of the second millennium B.C. ("... the biblical system of rules arose in a setting that was eminently compatible with it: it required no sharp changes in habitual dietary and cultic practices general in the land and its environs at least since the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age" [p. 177]; "... the text [Lev. 11] is likely to be a surviving example of the kind of teaching given by the priests at many ancient sanctuaries in the Syro-Canaanite area in order to ensure the purity of their holy places and congregations at the time of festival" [p. 232]). He thus has a ready answer to J. Milgrom's question, "which came first, the taboos or the criteria?": "at least for the beasts the answer is that *some* 'taboos', or rather a general pattern of cultic and dietary custom, came first" (p. 234). The important place that the pig must hold in such a view requires discussion of and explanations for the relative unimportance of the pig (and, to a lesser extent, of other prohibited sources of flesh) in the ancient Levantine diet and its general absence from sacrifice. The latter fact, for example, the total absence of the pig in Ugaritic ritual texts, is an important part of the explanation of correlation between sacrificial practice and diet in Israelite ideology. Finally, the link between diet and monotheism is established by the practical and ideological link between diet and sacrifice (what cannot be sacrificed is impure hence what cannot be eaten is impure) and hence between purity and holiness (to be holy one must be pure, to be in contact with divinity one must have at least a form of holiness, the divinity in question is YHWH, who requires single devotion, hence a sign of monotheistic Yahwism is purity as defined by YHWH).

The anthropologists will have to tell us how well Houston has handled the tools of anthropological analysis adopted here, the archaeologists will have to tell us how well he has covered and evaluated the archaeological data, and the Old Testament scholars will have to tell us how well he has dealt with the traditional explanations and approaches. To this humble philologist, finishing a study of Ugaritic ritual texts when this book came across my desk, it is one of the most enlightening books on a classic topic of Old Testament investigation I have come across in a while and one of the most interesting to read. It appears to me, at the very least, significantly to advance the study of dietary laws and the selection of sacrificial animals in Israelite culture.

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The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Vol. 1. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2. By MARK S. SMITH. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 55. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994. Pp. xxxviii + 446 + 47 pls. \$120.

This may be considered a very successful first step in a projected commentary on the primary mythological texts of which the Levantine weather deity Baal (probably pronounced /baʿlu/ at Ugarit) is the principal protagonist. Though the divine name Baal appears in many texts, six tablets excavated during the first few years of excavations at Ras Shamra (1930–33) and probably all inscribed by the same scribe, a certain ʿIlmilku, seem to have been intended to transmit a discrete narrative sequence, commonly termed the “Baal cycle.” Unfortunately, all six tablets are broken to some extent and the sequence is in fact indubitable for only two of the tablets: only tablets 5 and 6 in the numbering followed in this volume bear a continuous text. For this reason, not all scholars accept that all six texts belong to a cycle, and those who do accept this general relationship arrange the six texts differently. The present volume covers the first two tablets in the most commonly accepted order. These are the most damaged of the six and hence a particularly

large number of epigraphic problems, as compared with the philological and literary ones, have been treated in this volume. Judging from the formulation “a further volume(s) will address the other four tablets” (p. xxviii), the space needed to deal with the other texts has not yet been estimated. If the intent is to provide equally detailed treatments of epigraphic, philological, and literary problems for the other texts, it would not be unreasonable to devote a separate volume to each remaining tablet.

The format is that of the classical commentary: introduction (in this case to the entire cycle), text (here the author’s own examination of the originals is the basis for the textual remarks), and commentary (including vocalized texts and poetic analysis when the text is complete enough to permit such analyses). The “social sciences” system of bibliographical reference is used, which results in a shorter printed text but in more work for the reader, who must flip back and forth between text and bibliography in order to determine the precise work cited in each instance.

The work as a whole may be characterized as typical of the Mark Smith known from many previous publications, i.e., as showing thorough acquaintance with the secondary literature, a broad knowledge of the ancient Near Eastern context, and good judgment. In a field such as Ugaritic, where the writing system is essentially avocalic and virtually all texts are incomplete, the normal differences of opinion in scholarly pursuits are accentuated. Thus the next commentary on these texts will almost certainly show more differences in matters of basic interpretation than will two commentaries on Amos or on a play by Euripides. And another commentary would be necessary for me to formulate (for myself as well as for the reader) and explain the differences of opinion that I would have with this one.¹ Suffice it to say here that Smith’s commentary is competently and responsibly done, without the excesses that have characterized much

¹ See my translation of the Baal cycle, “The Baʿlu Myth,” in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger Jr., eds., *The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 241–74; the format of this work permits only a brief commentary.

such work in Ugaritic, and that neither this nor the next commentary on these texts, no matter by whom it is done, will be the final word.

I may be allowed, nonetheless, to express one disappointment, viz., that the examination of the originals has not solved some of the long-standing questions regarding the ordering of fragments. The one most susceptible of resolution would appear to be that of the *recto/verso* orientation of text 1, which Smith considers to be an open question (pp. 20–21), whereas it should be decidable by the curvature of the tablet. The *recto* is usually flatter than the *verso* because its corners settle while the *verso* is being inscribed. Unfortunately, among the (otherwise excellent) photographs of this text published here, there is not a side view of text 1, and I know of no such photograph elsewhere.

A somewhat different problem is presented by what was originally published as col. III of text 2, which Smith places before col. I of that text. This “col. III” is a fragment that does not join to the principal fragment and its placement is, therefore, in doubt. It is certain, however, that it comes from the right side of the tablet, whereas cols. I and IV are from the *recto* and *verso* of the left side of their tablet. Therefore, “col. III” is either from the right side of this tablet or from another tablet; it simply cannot be placed before col. I unless it belong to another tablet. In the latter case, the cycle would have consisted of seven tablets rather than six, and this implies an increase of at least 250 inscribed lines in the total length of the cycle (if “col. III” were from another tablet arranged in two columns). Though some of the authors he cites in his discussion of these matters (pp. 21–25) come explicitly to the latter conclusion, Smith’s conclusions appear contradictory: “This survey would suggest that 1.2 I + 1.2 IV belong together and that 1.2 III may represent an interruption (although the text is very fragmentary). Given the epigraphic arguments as well as the thematic considerations, it would appear prudent to position ‘1.2 III’ before 1.2 I” (p. 25). Is “col. III” a literary “interruption” in a single text or a separate text? Though, in keeping with the second sentence, Smith separates “col. III” from the other fragment, he never explicitly states that he believes the two fragments to come from separate

tablets² nor does he draw the requisite conclusions regarding the length of the texts separating “col. III” from the preceding and following texts.

Finally, it must be asserted that the configuration of the Ugaritic corpus argues strongly against the hypothesis that “the ‘library of the chief priest’ contained two versions of the Baal Cycle” (quotation from p. 12; there are allusions to this hypothesis in the following pages). It would be too much to expect that there existed two (more or less parallel) versions of the same story, with six extant tablets containing nearly 1,400 extant lines (of an approximate total of 2,500), and several other fragmentary tablets with similar motifs, but *without a single overlapping stretch of text*. We know from some of the “paramythological texts”³ that works existed in which the Baal cycle was quoted, and there are longer texts containing similar or identical motifs. But the fact remains that to date no two mythological texts overlap. The fact that the scribe ²Ilimilku inscribed most of the major mythological texts (Baal, Kirta, Aqhat), perhaps near the end of the thirteenth century,⁴ leads me to believe—until contrary evidence appears—that ²Ilimilku himself was the instigator and executor of these “hard copies” of age-old traditions, that he only wrote

² Note that the “epigraphic arguments” in the second sentence quoted cannot be interpreted as constituting counter-arguments to the thematic considerations, for above Smith has said that “There is no epigraphic reason for doubting that ‘1.2 III’ belonged originally to 1.2” (p. 22). Thus the second sentence cannot be saying that though thematic arguments would favor the explanation of “col. III” as a literary “interruption,” epigraphic arguments would favor seeing the two fragments as belonging to separate tablets. Note also in passing that the verb “suggest” in the first sentence quoted is inaptly attached to the first assertion (“1.2 I + 1.2 IV belong together”) because those two columns are the two sides of a single fragment and there cannot, therefore, be any serious question of their not belonging together. (Aleatory associations of texts on a tablet are quite rare in Ugaritic epigraphy and ²Ilimilku did not, to my knowledge, produce any.)

³ Recently reedited in my *Les textes paramythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit, vol. 4 (Paris, 1988).

⁴ A possibility currently being explored in depth by one of Pierre Bordreuil’s students in Paris, A.-S. Dalix. Her doctoral thesis, as yet unpublished, was defended in early 1997: “Ilimilku, scribe d’Ougarit au XIII^e siècle avant J. C.”

them down once, that no one else wrote down the same versions, and that the similar texts written by other scribes represent essentially different myths. If this hypothesis proves to be correct, it only underscores the preciousness of the epigraphic finds made during the first years of the Ras-Shamra excavations.

In conclusion, this volume and its successors will surely and deservedly enjoy in Ugaritic studies the same long and respectful usage by generations of scholars that the pioneering critical commentaries of biblical texts enjoyed.

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Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomistic School.

By RAYMOND F. PERSON. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series 167. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993. Pp. 230. \$50.

In this revised Ph.D. dissertation, Raymond Person presents a well-documented thesis which bears witness of thorough research. The reader is informed throughout of Person's presuppositions, the problems relating to the investigation, the hypotheses, and the conclusions.

The thesis of the Deuteronomistic redaction of Zechariah is presented in three parts: "Deuteronomistic Redaction in the Post-Exilic Period" (pt. 1), "The Deuteronomistic Redaction of Zechariah" (pt. 2), and "The Deuteronomistic School in the Post-Exilic Period" (pt. 3).

Person's main hypothesis is that the Deuteronomistic school was responsible for the canonical form of Zechariah with the addition of 2 Zechariah (chaps. 9–14) to 1 Zechariah (chaps. 1–8). His discussion builds upon presuppositions drawn from previous research on Zechariah as well as from studies of Deuteronomistic literature, including Jeremiah.

The method which Person uses to argue for the Deuteronomistic character of 2 Zechariah (pt. 2) is based on that used by Hyatt and others to investigate the Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah. Although this method was occasionally criticized in the past, Person adapted it for the purpose of his own research. The same or simi-

lar criticism as was brought in against the original method can perhaps be directed at Person's method, but ultimately one should evaluate the totality of the investigation and the final results thereof, unless one finds it altogether impossible to agree on methodological grounds. Although the evidence offered in this book is not always equally evident, the point Person wants to make is illustrated aptly and convincingly.

The reader might ask whether it is viable to compare 2 Zechariah first and foremost with the Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah rather than with Deuteronomistic History itself, in spite of Person's effort to prove the validity of this procedure (p. 30). The problem is that some issues still need to be clarified with regard to the "Deuteronomistic Redaction of Jeremiah" (cf. Knauf, *JNES* 53 [1994]: 216), which, in a certain sense, can only be seen as a "secondary source" compared to Deuteronomistic History.

Building on the conclusions of Delcor and Mason, Person argues for the unity of 2 Zechariah on account of its consistent dependence on earlier Biblical material, that is prophetic, but especially Deuteronomistic literature. According to Person, such a heavy influence furthermore suggests that 2 Zechariah is the product of a Deuteronomist.

The Babylonian exile (divine punishment for Israel's disobedience) and the return to Judah (hope for restoration) fit in well as part of the Deuteronomistic view of history. In the early post-exilic period, however, it became clear that the hopes of restoration did not meet the expectations of the Deuteronomistic History in the rigid sense of promise and fulfillment. Although the deportees had served their term of divine punishment, the restoration did not succeed in a political sense. Because of the deterioration of social conditions in Judah as well as innercommunity conflict, Person argues that "the Deuteronomists increasingly understood that the full restoration of Israel would not occur within political history . . . [but] in the eschatological future, wherein Yahweh would directly initiate the permanent restoration of the true Jerusalem and a new world order (e.g., Zech 14)" (p. 167). This idea of Israel's restoration in a cosmic sphere rather than within the context of a political de-

liverance, would imply a shift of thought on the part of some people or a specific group in the social structure during the time of the post-exilic temple administration, as was argued by Paul Hanson (*The Dawn of Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia, 1979]).

It is well known that Hanson identifies this hypothetic group as the visionaries with their apocalyptic eschatology, as it is found in 2 Zechariah. Person, on the other hand, identifies this group as the Deuteronomists who were responsible for the redaction of 2 Zechariah. It should be noted here that Hanson does not make provision for the possibility that Deuteronomists could have had a hand in the redaction of 2 Zechariah on account of the "principle of promise and fulfillment" upon which "the Deuteronomistic History is founded" (pp. 22–23).

Thematically Person largely agrees with Hanson, but the screen actors differ: Deuteronomists according to Person, visionaries according to Hanson. To arrive at this conclusion, Person inter alia had to allow for a shift in thought on the part of the Deuteronomistic school. In principle there is no reason to doubt a possible materializing of a change in ideology that could have taken place among the Deuteronomistic scribes. I believe that Person accumulated enough supporting data to prove his point. He further substantiates his arguments by reconstructing the postexilic social setting of the Deuteronomistic school (chap. 7) as well as the Deuteronomistic theology at the time of the redaction of 2 Zechariah (chap. 8). It becomes clear that certain aspects of his reconstruction of the social structures in postexilic Judah agree with those of Hanson.

Person is also of the opinion that the character of Yahweh's intervention was to change from a mundane to a cosmic mediation. This apocalyptic eschatology, as coined by Hanson, is found in 2 Zechariah, especially in chaps. 11–14. While, according to Person, the activities of the Deuteronomistic school came to an end during the post-exilic period, the ideology of the visionaries, as found in the apocalyptic literature, however, prevailed in the postexilic period and into Christian times. An important aspect of this ideology, i.e., the character of Yahweh's intervention that was expected to change from a mundane to a

more apocalyptic mediation, as identified by Hanson, corresponds with the same aspect that was adapted (according to Person) in Deuteronomistic thought. Person, however, does not discuss the possibility that the Deuteronomistic school could have been the author of this same ideology in the later postexilic period. Or one might ask why the demise of the Deuteronomistic school, according to Person, did not result in a phasing out of their theology.

In recent years, however, the literary phenomenon of intertextuality in apocalyptic literature has been pointed out. The important insight in this regard is the utilization by the apocalyptic authors of older texts and motifs related to Yahweh as Divine Warrior, with its roots in, for example, Canaanite and Mesopotamian literature. Perhaps Person could have paid attention to the dependence of 2 Zechariah on earlier biblical material also within an apocalyptic and not necessarily only a possible Deuteronomistic context. The one does not, of course, necessarily exclude the other. The question is: should similarities between 2 Zechariah and the Deuteronomistic literature always be ascribed to a Deuteronomistic redaction or perhaps sometimes to the apocalyptic writers' utilization of intertexts? Both possibilities could be reconciled with certain theological themes which Person discusses in the last chapter of his book. Perhaps the phenomenon of intertextuality and the possibility that Deuteronomistic thought prevailed to a certain extent in postexilic times could have been discussed in comparison with the more rigid concept of a Deuteronomistic school at work in the canonization of Zechariah.

A possible example of intertexts taken at random is the similarity between Zech. 12:4 and Deut. 28:28 (p. 85). I agree that these verses demonstrate "that the imagery in Zech 12.4 is dependent upon Deut 28.28." Why is Zech. 12:4 necessarily seen as part of the Deuteronomistic redaction instead of being interpreted perhaps as intertextuality? Both these texts are found in a context of blessings and curses.

With a view to a viable interpretation of 2 Zechariah, it is noteworthy that Person tries to reconstruct the social conditions during the early postexilic period.

The few critical remarks in this review are not intended to negate the author's achievement. This book can be viewed as a substantial contribution to Old Testament scholarship.

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Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions. By JOHN C. REEVES. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992. Pp. xi + 260.

Research into the sustained relations between Judaism and Gnosticism, despite its long-noted and self-evident significance for the history of religions, remains underdeveloped. *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* provides a signal contribution to this important area. Reeves draws from such disparate sources as the Qumran scrolls, the *Cologne Mani Codex*, Syriac and Arabic heresiography, and Middle Iranian Manichaean fragments to shed significant new light on the ancient Jewish antecedents of Manichaean myth.

In his first chapter ("A Manichaean Book of Giants?," pp. 9–51), Reeves comprehensively reviews ancient citations and modern opinions concerning the existence of a Manichaean cosmogonic *Book of Giants*. He concludes by introducing the scholarly basis for the present study, Milik's great discovery that the Qumran scrolls contain Aramaic fragments closely related to Mani's *Book of Giants* (pp. 31–32). In chap. 2 ("The Qumran Fragments of the *Book of Giants*," pp. 51–165), Reeves transliterates, translates, and annotates those remarkable fragments. In his rich annotation for this chapter, important modifications are made in understanding the development of the durable "Combat Myth"/"Fallen Angel Myth." Reeves plaits numerous textual strands into a persuasive theory of transmission. It now seems beyond dispute that Mani (and his successors) utilized Enochic legends, some versions of which survived among the Qumran scrolls. Chap. 3 ("Severus of Antioch and the Book of Giants," pp. 165–85) concerns a possible sixth-century witness to the "Giants"

cosmogony. Finally, chap. 4 ("Manichaean Cosmogony and Jewish Tradition," pp. 185–206) analyzes the structural analogues between Jewish sources and Manichaean cosmogony. For the latter, Reeves especially relies on Theodor bar Khonai's eighth-century *Scholia*, the relevant sections of which are translated here.

Discoveries of interest to researchers in diverse research areas are scattered throughout the monograph. For example, Reeves's linguistic range extends to Arabic. He is thus enabled to recognize that the name Gilgamesh is cited by the fifteenth-century Muslim polymath, al-Suyuti (p. 159). More generally, he shows with some success that "the Book of Giants was probably the transmissional link between the Mesopotamian and Islamic traditions" (p. 162). Similarly, with regard to the transmissional links provided by Jewish traditions, Reeves sheds light on such medieval *midrashim* as the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* (pp. 86–87). More generally, he also confirms a developing consensus that "Zoroastrian" and more generally Persianate influences have been substantially overestimated in the history of Manichaeism. His concluding remarks bear repetition here:

One therefore concludes that the extent of Zoroastrian influence upon the young Mani has been overrated. The new textual evidence which has appeared over the last twenty years supplies a valuable corrective to earlier expositions of Mani's thought. These texts indicate that heterodox Jewish thought, particularly that embodied in Enochic literature, was a powerful stimulus in the formulation of Mani's theology. The impact of Jewish literary traditions upon the youthful Mani will necessarily occupy a central place in future studies dealing with the origins of Manichaeism (p. 209).

The volume is well produced. Scholarly apparatus includes: Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic reproduced in the original characters; an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources; and indexes of citations, as well as of ancient, medieval, and modern authors. As is to be expected in a dissertation-turned-monograph, endnotes are voluminous if not exhaustive.

In short, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions*

makes a major contribution to the vexed study of continuities from late antiquity into the Islamicate period. Reeves thus contributes both to Qumran Studies and Manichaean Studies in important ways. It should be emphasized, of course, that Jewish Studies in general is also enriched by this inquiry. Finally, the historian of religions finds in *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* a fundamental contribution to the long-standing discussion of the relation between Judaism and myth.

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Supplement to the Pre-Islamic Coinage of Eastern Arabia. By D. T. POTTS. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 16. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994. Pp. 88 + 426 figs. \$48.

Substantial activity in the collection of and research on pre-Islamic coinage in eastern Arabia has in recent years stimulated the publication of significant work on a previously poorly documented body of coinage. The current monograph is a supplement to the 1991 catalogue by this author. It incorporates new coin finds, which in part resulted from interest generated by the earlier publication as well as important scholarship presented in the intervening years. With 426 new specimens illustrated, the present work nearly doubles the known corpus of coins for this series. The supplement presents the recent findings in the form of a new catalogue including all previously published classes and many new ones. Given the scope and organization of this work, its title is misleading.

Unlike the primary publication of 1991, the supplement's catalogue is organized broadly in four main groupings depending on whether the reverses carry the name or initial of Abyatha, the legend s²ms¹ or s², an eagle, or a horse protome. In each of these groupings, new and previously published classes are presented in order of perceived iconographical continuities. Subsequent sections document unique pieces, pieces too indistinct to classify, and the unusual discovery of

a silver flan. The Roman numerals which previously designated each class are maintained. Because of the reorganization of this material, however, the Roman numeral identifying a class may have no relation to its grouping. Within each grouping, previously published classes are usually, though not always, treated in order of their numerals. At the same time, new classes do not use Roman numerals. Morkholm Ib has been added as a class and designated as such. Six new classes of Seleucid imitations have been recorded as S1 through S6. Where a class is previously attested, the supplement describes the important details but refers the reader to the original publication for a more extensive description. Where a new class is presented, the description is broader. Specimens are recorded for each class by site and then metal. Weights, diameters, and die axes are also given. The book is attractively published. Accompanying the description for each class, the plates are excellent for what is normally poorly preserved coinage. Useful class distribution maps also appear with these discussions. At the end, tables present the record of finds at each site. A list of references gives an update to the bibliography of the 1991 publication.

The present work is a very important addition to the study of this coinage. New specimens published here for the first time give clearer examples of the various forms of the iconography. In at least one case, they clarify important though previously ambiguous features. Instead of a palm and eagle on the reverse of Class VIII, for example, the defective representation of the South Arabian alif is now clear, changing the attribution of this class from Abi²el to Abyatha. In quite a few cases, new types and varieties have been documented, forming new classes of coinage. In particular, the coinage of southeastern Arabia is better documented than before. The six new classes of Seleucid imitations provide a useful basis for establishing the chronology of a significant part of this coinage. Taking class S2 as a prototype, the author attributes the earliest issues of Abi²el to the first half of the second century B.C. Related and derived issues are assigned to the latter half of this century, while the bulk of the derivative issues are placed somewhere between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.

A major criticism of this work is its organization. Iconography provides a poor basis for distinguishing coinage of disparate composition and weight. Because much of this coinage is derivative, the distinctions are frequently ambiguous or meaningless. Moreover, in revising the organization of the 1991 publication, the author eliminated any intuitive feature for reference to these classes. With the supplement, classes II and III appear toward the end of the catalogue, classes L and LI somewhat earlier, and classes S1 through S6 interspersed throughout the latter half. The designation of minor varieties with small letters after the Roman numeral is similarly introduced inconsistently. One must read a very abbreviated description in the table of contents to guess where a coin may be found. This is insufficient in many cases, however, so that the reader often needs to refer to the plates themselves. Function, instead, would give a sounder basis for organization. Silver, bronze, billon, and copper coinage should be distinguished just as they were when they were in circulation. Weights of obol, drachm, and tetradrachm should next be sorted. Where sufficient evidence exists for the site of a mint, this should serve as a criterion. Only then can iconography be analyzed usefully and, through its analysis, the attribution of this coinage advanced.

The supplement, like the primary publication of 1991, presents important new material as work in progress. Its evidence offers intriguing possibilities for reconstructing the monetary system of eastern Arabia in antiquity. Perhaps attention could be given to the metrological systems documented by this coinage. In doing so, however, the researcher must be prepared to overcome infelicities in this book's organization.

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Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age. By PETER GREEN. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. xxiii + 970 + 216 figs. + 30 maps. \$60.

This is a monumental, sweeping history of the Hellenistic period, from the campaigns of Alexander the Great through the demise of Antony

and Cleopatra some three centuries later. It covers political history as well as the history of art, religion, and philosophy of the period. It must be stressed at the outset that it is history from one point of view, that of Greek history and culture, an approach which readers of this journal will no doubt have as many problems with as I did. For given the intensity of scholarly work on the Hellenistic Near East, Green's approach may be likened to a geneticist describing one strand of a DNA molecule rather than its helical structure.

Much of what Green has to say is very interesting, and the volume is an entertaining, personal account of the Hellenistic world. Indeed, the reader is left with no doubt as to what the author thinks of a given subject. It is unfortunate that there was such a gap between Green's finished manuscript in 1984 and the book's publication in 1990. The number of publications in Hellenistic history has increased tremendously in recent years, and there is now much to be added to Green's bibliography, particularly from the point of view of Egyptology and Near Eastern studies. Even if the book had been written as recently as last year, however, one senses that much of this literature, papyrological and epigraphical in the main, would have been left out by Green. For he takes the rather standard (and, to my mind, outdated) view that what is worth talking about in Hellenistic history is the evolution (or better, in Green's view, the devolution) of Greek culture and society from a fifth century B.C. Athenian perspective. The playwright Menander, for example, for Green is a "sad falling off" from Attic Old Comedy (p. 79). Virtually no mention is made of local Near Eastern cultures and the vibrant literature of this period. The reader will not be surprised to learn that no account is taken of the relationship of Greek literature to local culture. But surely it is time to conceive of the Hellenistic period (an unfortunate term we might do well to forget) as a new phase in the history of the Mediterranean, with dynamic encounters of Greek with Near Eastern culture. In the light of research during the last twenty years, it is also time to treat the period on its own terms rather than bemoan the loss of classical polis society. Whig histories which seek to elevate a period of "high" culture and descry its decay or decline simply seem naive today. Green's (negative) attitude toward the language of the period serves as

an example of his general orientation to the subject. Is it really necessary, these days, to term *koine* Greek as "that bastardized vernacular *lingua franca* of the Hellenistic world" (p. 74)?

Green divides his history into five phases: (1) "Alexander's Funeral Games 323–276 B.C."; (2) "The Zenith Century 276–222 B.C."; (3) "Ptolemy's Legions 221–168 B.C."; (4) "The Breaking of Nations 167–116 B.C."; (5) "Rome Triumphant 116–30 B.C." This is more or less the standard model of Hellenistic political history well known to readers of Polybius and modern accounts such as the classic work *Hellenistic Civilisation* by Tarn and Griffith. For Green, much of Hellenistic history is a lesson for our own age. This makes for lively reading for the general public to whom the book is addressed. It is a dangerous historical technique, however, and Green would have done better to follow Tarn and Griffith who, in their introduction, warn that modern "parallels must not be drawn too far." Furthermore, Green repeats the notion that the Near East was colonized by Alexander and the successor kings much as nineteenth-century India was by the British. Indeed, the evocation of the Raj occurs throughout the book. This colonial model, explicit already in the work of Bevan, is ill-advised. In the light of much recent and stimulating work in post-colonial theory, to the extent that we may speak of colonialism at all, we must seek a model based on the available ancient evidence and not a preconceived, nineteenth-century eurocentric model which does not fit.¹

Green claims to make limited "sensible use of papyrological evidence" because much of it has value for a limited time and place. This is certainly true, but, in fact, very little papyrological evidence is utilized by Green, since he has no concern for social history. The difficulties of the papyri should not be then used as a barrier for either their specific use or a broad historical narrative using papyri from many locations. That papyri can be used to construct a general historical narrative has been recently and elegantly demonstrated by both Dorothy Thompson (Ptol-

emaic Egypt)² and Roger Bagnall (Byzantine Egypt).³ An insight into Green's approach may be found on p. 324. In speaking about Egyptians who acquired Greek names in order to function within the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, Green cites a poem of Cavafy as a modern parallel rather than ancient evidence such as the Menches archive.⁴ When Egyptian papyri are cited in the notes, they are cited in such a way as to confuse the general reader. For example, P. Berl. 3010, cited as evidence for the reign of Ptolemy VII, is a demotic text and should be cited as such, either using the Leiden method, P. Berl. Kaufv. 3101, or at least as P. Berl. dem. 3101 to leave no doubt as to what kind of text it is.⁵ In discussing the Egyptian term for the Mediterranean ("great green"), Green transliterates the phrase as *uatchur* and refers to Budge's hieroglyphic dictionary of 1920. The phrase should properly be transliterated as *w³d wr* and the reader referred to the Berlin *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* instead. In his label of the Rosetta Stone on p. 292, the caption states that Champollion deciphered it in 1824, when, in fact, his first published pamphlet on the decipherment dates to his *Lettre à M. Dacier* in 1822. This is nit-picking to be sure, but these discrepancies demonstrate, I think, Green's attitude that Egyptian culture and the contribution of Egyptology is irrelevant to Hellenistic history.

Green's conception of Ptolemaic Egypt repeats the well-worn model of a centralized, etatist regime which took over pharaonic methods of control. While I agree with the idea of "continuance where possible" (Rostovtzeff) in the governance of the country, the model of a highly centralized, even efficient, bureaucracy has been shown to be inaccurate. The nature of the Nile regime meant that it was local power and local conditions of tenure and irrigation which were dominant, not the central government, and, as Vidal-Naquet showed thirty years ago, the annual crop reports

² *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988).

³ *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1994).

⁴ See now Willy Clarysse, "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration," *Aegyptus* 65 (1985): 57–66.

⁵ For the new method of citing demotic texts, see, in general, Sven Vleeming and A. A. Den Brinker, *Checklist of Demotic Text Editions and Re-editions* (Leiden, 1993).

¹ I find the work by Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, 1988), very useful in delimiting the nature of nineteenth-century colonialism and in describing how very different ancient colonialism was.

(*diagrape tou sporou*) were compiled from village records and sent to Alexandria, not dictated from the capital down to the villages.⁶ Green also speaks about the settling down of the successor kingdoms as a balance of power, a phrase roundly, and in my view soundly, criticized recently by Austin.⁷ There is no historical basis for (and in fact some modern evidence against) Green's assertion that Egyptian peasants preferred indigenous to foreign masters (p. 192). The *fella-hin*, if anything, were probably anti-government of any stripe. In any case, Green's description of the disturbances in Upper Egypt throughout the second and first centuries B.C., as peasant revolts cannot be proven, and there is some evidence to suggest, rather, that the great Theban revolt of 205–186 B.C. may have been driven, initially at least, by internal rivalries between cults in Thebes and Edfu. Therefore, we must remain cautious in describing these disturbances as either anti-Ptolemaic or as "peasant revolts," since we do not even know how many were involved in the disturbances.

In short, Green's work is useful and elegantly written and stands as a good, if at times controversial, survey of Greek history and culture of the Hellenistic period. What I find most disagreeable about it is what has been left out. Much of his pessimistic conception of the period is indebted to Bevan, Rostovtzeff, and Tarn and Griffith. Green has also perpetuated these authors' dismissal of Egypt and the Near East as irrelevant to Hellenistic history. To leave these cultures out of a general survey of Hellenistic historical evolution is sad and a missed opportunity. How can anyone today write about Hellenistic religion without even a mention of the Serapeum of Memphis? And to be sure, Green's discussion of the well-noted feature of gigantism in the period would have been more informed if he had included a discussion of Near Eastern society. For surely the urge to build large things in the Hellenistic period was influenced by the Greeks' exposure to pyramids and ziggurats.

I do not wish to conclude on a negative note. There is much in the book which is important,

and I learned a great deal by reading it. Nevertheless, a balanced mixture of narrative history and papyrological, epigraphical, and archaeological material, as well as of Greek and Near Eastern culture, would surely yield very different results than Green has given us. Whether or not we can ultimately decide whether there was a fusion or isolation of culture in this period, the Near Eastern evidence from the period must be taken up by historians as indeed Alan Samuel has done for Egypt:

The demotic documents and Egyptian society stand before us almost as a new land of discovery. Comparisons between concepts in demotic literature of the Ptolemaic period with those of the Egyptian milieu of the Nag Hammadi Coptic texts suggest that such fundamental change in the understanding of the nature of man as the shift from characteristic Near Eastern monism to a Hellenic dualism took place after the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty. . . . We will be able to support with conviction or to refute what appears to be true from the evidence currently available, that the Egyptians—even upper class Egyptians—were not much touched by Greek culture. . . .

The future of Hellenistic history lies in a different direction from that which Green's account has taken: with the bringing together of all the evidence from the several cultures involved and the study of the mutual interaction and reaction at many different levels of society historians will be able to write a much richer and more complex history. It is this Hellenistic dynamism which makes the period so fascinating and so worthy of study.

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Persian Painting. By SHEILA R. CANBY. Eastern Art Series. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993. Pp. 128 + 87 figs. + 1 map. \$15.95.

Mughal Miniatures. By J. M. ROGERS. Eastern Art Series. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993. Pp. 128 + 86 figs. \$15.95.

Islamic Metalwork. By RACHEL WARD. Eastern Art Series. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993. Pp. 128 + 99 figs. \$15.95.

Given the increasing rarity of the comprehensive museum catalogue, and the fact that the

⁶ *Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 5 (Brussels, 1967).

⁷ M. M. Austin, "Hellenistic Kings, War, and the Economy," *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986): 455.

richest public collections of Islamic objects in the world remain unpublished in their entirety, scholars and interested individuals have to resort to a variety of different kinds of publications in order to attain access to a collection's holdings. Among these are scholarly articles and notices in journals and museum bulletins, thematic special exhibition catalogues, and the "treasure" books that highlight selected objects from a particular collection. While this last type of publication usually incorporates an introduction and/or descriptive paragraphs for each object, its strength is usually the large format color plates by which the objects are illustrated and represented rather than its textual discussions of these same objects. Finally, and in contrast to the "treasure" book, is the manual or handbook: a publication in which the text takes precedence over the image and where objects are used as illustrations—rather than as the primary focus—for a discussion of a particular technique or tradition within Islamic visual culture. The character of these publications allows them the freedom of going outside a given collection in order to fill gaps in the visual history of the medium or tradition under discussion, and this fact, compounded with the emphasis on the text rather than the images that illustrate it, subsumes their nature as catalogues and gives them the authority of textbooks. It is to this last general category of museum publication that the three books under review belong.

Persian Painting, *Mughal Miniatures*, and *Islamic Metalwork* are all written by specialists for the British Museum (continued with a publication on tiles by Venetia Porter) and published by a specialized commercial press. They therefore share much of their physical aspects: format, size, and number of pages and chapters (six chapters for *Islamic Metalwork*, seven for each of the other two) as well as general number of illustrations the majority of which represent holdings at the British Museum (but with supplementary material from a number of other public and private collections as well). They share eminently readable texts that summarize the literature for each area and an avoidance of footnotes (although sources of direct quotations are noted within the text). Two include maps (p. 10 in *Persian Painting*, pp. 122–23 in *Islamic Metalwork*, with the usual unfortunate results of spread-

ing an otherwise perfectly clear map over two pages), and each has a list of suggested "further reading" at the end, annotated in the case of *Islamic Metalwork*. All three books are attractively produced, with a minimal number of typographical errors (for example, only one appears in *Persian Painting*, p. 53, where the word "in" is interposed within Iskandar Sultan) and with clear illustrations (although in *Mughal Miniatures*, fig. 18 is somewhat muddy, color reproductions 22, 25, and 26 appear slightly out of focus, and no. 25 is also reversed). The production of these books follows in the stylistic footsteps of Barbara Brend's *Islamic Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), for which they stand as more specialized descendants. Here, as in Brend's book, an accessible text is accompanied by a relatively large number of illustrations each of which is supplied not only with the usual caption but with some explanatory or interpretive text as well (although this is less the case in *Mughal Miniatures* than in the other two books). In this fashion, these handbooks/catalogues attempt to bridge the gap between the informative text-oriented publication and the appeal of the museum "treasure" or "picture book." It is possible to read them in two ways: either by going through the text and referring to the images that illustrate it or by "reading" through the images and their captions and thereby taking an informative visual tour of the objects in the collection.

All three books manage to accomplish both less and more than the promises implicit in their titles. Each includes a useful chapter on materials, techniques, and workshops and follows with chronological discussions that summarize the history and scholarship of its specific subject. *Islamic Metalwork* rejects the universality implied by its title and charts a route that focuses on metal objects produced between the seventh and fifteenth centuries. It combines its chronological discussion of the production of objects in metal with discussions of changes in taste, technique, and theme particularly evident in later objects and emphasized through chapter headings such as "The Glittering Surface 1100–1300" and "Poetry and Propaganda 1300–1500." The most temporally specific of the three, *Mughal Miniatures*, is appropriately a discussion of miniature and book production from Babur to Aurangzib, with the bulk of the material dedicated to

Akbar's role in the establishment of the royal ateliers and their court style. By concentrating on the imperial ateliers and leaving out the many provincial courts that flourished under the Mughals, the author is able to include chapters on the history of the Mughals and the migrant artists who, by moving from the Safavid to the Mughal domains, helped forge the new Mughal tradition ("The Mughals and Their Empire" and "The Beginnings of Mughal Painting"). Despite its title, *Persian Painting* focuses on miniatures and album paintings from the fourteenth century on, although it makes passing reference to traditions of wall painting both before and after the appearance of Islam in Iran and reproduces a tile (p. 28) as well as some painted objects (as is dictated by the material) in its later chapters. *Persian Painting* deals with its particularly broad and complex subject matter by going beyond the stylistic exploration promised in its introduction and prefacing each chapter and subsection with historical information that helps clarify the role and importance of the many patron dynasties and princely courts that flourished in different parts of Iran. Perhaps because of the breadth of its subject, this book appears to anthropomorphize history more than its companions (with the fourteenth century, the history of whose material and artistic productivity is still in process of discovery and rewriting, being, as the chapter titles suggest, an "Age of Experiment," the fifteenth of "Classicism and Exuberance," brought to fruition between 1500 and 1567 in "A Glorious Synthesis," and eventually leading to "The Long Decline 1629–1722"). But this tendency to anthropomorphize, which is more defensible in the case of temporally and culturally distinct traditions such as that of the Mughals, is evident in all three books.

In their dual roles as textbooks and partial catalogues, these books are directed at beginners and general readers. Their success should then be judged on the manner in which they present the field to outsiders and on their usefulness as introductory texts. Such texts are notoriously difficult to write, and, for an area of study in which periodization and terminology remain problematic (a fact most evident here in *Islamic Metalwork* with its consistent use of such ill-defined terms as "Islamic era" and "pre-Islamic

period," among others), this is a task that specialists shy away from. As a result, while the field enjoys numerous specialized monographs, the number of its good general introductory textbooks is quite limited. In this regard, these books, with their useful chapters on materials and techniques, their readable texts, and their numerous illustrations, are valuable additions to the available library. Their presentation of the field of Islamic visual studies, however, is subjected here to the equally notorious institutional conservatism of the museum—a fact that is evident even in the titles that are likely to have been imposed by publisher and press. Consequently, the three books present the field in the traditional fashion that does not easily lend itself to the task of bringing the objects under discussion to life, and are forced to eschew some of the more problematic questions currently under investigation. One such question is raised by the books' own design, where it is possible to gain some information by flipping through and reading only the images and their accompanying captions. This design feature practically demands a separate reading of texts and images, since a stop at each narrative caption forces an interruption in the reading of the main text. A similar relationship between texts and images may or may not have been involved in the production, presentation, and reception of illustrated and illuminated manuscripts, and this feature itself could have been well used to expand on this important dimension in manuscript studies, particularly in view of the suggestion that "the patrons [of illustrated manuscripts] must soon have discovered what the artists already knew: that the experience and enjoyment of looking at a painting, even if it illustrates the written word on the page facing it, stand quite apart from the activity of reading the book" (*Persian Painting*, p. 9). The books' emphasis on the presentation of the material artifacts of Islamic visual culture—in fulfillment of the needs of the museum—rather than on issues related to these artifacts, deprives the general reader of access to the most engaging dimensions of the field of Islamic visual studies. Though constrained by their own medium, the authors have still provided us with useful teaching tools that, with the instructor as mediator, can be put to good use in a variety

of introductory courses on Islamic history and culture.

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The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study. 2d ed. rev. By ALBRECHT NOTH and LAWRENCE I. CONRAD. Translated by Michael Bonner. *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 3. Princeton: Darwin Press, Inc., 1994. Pp. xi + 248. \$27.50.

Albrecht Noth's *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung* was first published in 1973. While his conclusions about the nature of the early Arabic historical tradition have since attained currency among the small coterie of specialists in early Islamic historiography, his work has not always been accessible outside this circle. With the publication of this revised English edition, this is no longer the case, and a wider audience will now have to reckon with Noth's thesis.

The thesis is, on the face of it, a simple one. Given that the great mass of early Arabic historical writing is problematic as a source of objective historical accounts, the historian needs a set of solid criteria with which to judge them. Noth argues against the older prevailing theory that such accounts were written in the context of various regional "schools," each presenting a coherent slant on early Islamic history. Rather, Noth demonstrates that the entire early Arabic historical tradition is replete with contradictions, even in accounts produced from within the same "school." For Noth, certain shared literary traits, not membership in a supposed historical school, are the criteria by which we can assess these accounts. These traits include: certain "salient themes" such as conquest, *fitna*, and chronology; literary forms such as pseudo-documents, speeches, and lists; recurring topoi, such as the Decisive Battle or the Summons to Islam; and "schemata," motifs like certain transitional formulas or folk etymologies.

In producing the revised English edition, Noth and his collaborator Lawrence Conrad have not altered the logical structure of the original. They

have, however, expanded a few points, increased the number of illustrative examples, and incorporated the two decades of scholarship on Arabic historiography since the original publication. Michael Bonner's translation is clear and precise. With all these virtues and its very reasonable price, this edition can be said to have superseded the original.

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Persian Myths. By VESTA SARKHOSH CURTIS. The Legendary Past Series. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993. Pp. 80 + 40 figs. \$9.95 (paperback).

The myths and legends that make up the luxuriant tapestry of the Iranian national legend are not confined to their best-known literary recension Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma*. Throughout history they have served, as they still do in Iran, as a mine of graphic and literary motifs, poetic allusions, political satire, and popular entertainment. They have found their way into neighboring Slavic, Indic, Turkic, and Arabic folkloric corpora. Having been in turn comparativized, psychoanalyzed, and structuralized, they are now being reproblematicized and deconstructed. To attempt a coherent survey for any kind of readership is a daunting task.

This slim volume, an introduction for the non-specialist, is a model of its kind. On the basis of a subjective selection from the vast corpus of Iranian myth and legend, generously illustrated with photographs of miniatures, sculptures, silver plate, and other artifacts (chiefly from the British Museum's collections), Curtis has compiled a seamless overview of the mainsprings of Persian artistic, literary, and popular culture.

From the outset, the author gives the Avestan or other Iranian forms of New Persian names, though without resorting to diacritics. The folk construction of national continuity emerges unforced from the narrative: Alexander of Macedon as the half-brother of Darius III, Bibi Shahrbanū, the legendary daughter of the last Sasanian monarch, Yazdegird III, as wife of the martyred imam

Ḥusayn. Other threads of continuity and their side-links with cognate mythology are seen in motifs such as the exposure of the infant hero and his rescue by animals (Zoroaster, saved by a she-wolf and suckled by a ewe; Cyrus, fed by a bitch, and Rustam's father Zāl, by the fabulous bird the Simurgh). Alexander in Niẓāmī's version of the legend has ass's ears; his barber, tormented by the untold secret, whispers it into a well, whence grows a reed, which is made into a flute . . . and even if you have never heard the tale of King Midas, or the Indian king of Konkan, or the Welsh prince March, you can guess the rest. A case is implied for the blending of the mourning rituals for Ḥusayn (reported in tenth-century Baghdad) with those for the pre-Islamic Iranian martyr Siyāvush (observed in tenth-century Sogdia). The modern *naqqāl* or teahouse storyteller, we realize, uses the same technique of cliff-hanging interruption that once served Shahrzād.

The book has no scholarly apparatus other than an index and an annotated "suggestions for further reading," each of one page. The latter includes references to recent scholarship; though there is no mention of the literature on women in the *Shāhnāma*. Here, too, is a solitary misprint: for *Hamāsa sara-yi* read *Hamāsa-sarāʿi*. Written with succinctness, clarity, and empathy (one would expect no less from the editor of *Iran*, the journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies), the work is a welcome addition to the British Museum's range of popular handbooks to mythology, of which eight are listed so far.

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Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo.

By PAULA SANDERS. Albany: State University of New York, 1994. Pp. xii + 231. \$16.95.

This book examines the political culture of Egypt under the Fatimid dynasty, which ruled from its capital of Cairo from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century C.E. The sources for this examination are the rituals of the Fatimid court, in particular those associated with the major festivals of Egypt (Islamic or otherwise). By using an approach that owes

more to European social history than to past generations of Orientalist scholarship, Paula Sanders has produced a sophisticated study of the ways by which authority was articulated in an early Islamic society.

Certainly, the book shares a delight in description with older studies of Islamic ritual, and without it, even a specialist would be lost among the kind of lexicographical arcana that one encounters in this study. This thin volume is crowded with detail, and Sanders has clearly performed an immense labor in obtaining the meanings of the various gestures, props, and personages associated with Fatimid court ritual. More importantly, she is able to go beyond a mere cataloguing of such detail and to demonstrate what it all meant *politically* to the audience(s) of these rituals. Along the way, we are allowed a glimpse into the various factors such as succession disputes, political gambits, schisms, and social unrest that affected the development of this political medium so often considered to be unchanging.

Most of the sources that Sanders uses are Mamlūk chronicles that postdate the Fatimid dynasty by over a century. Nonetheless, she has persuasively reconstructed the variety of meanings that the rituals described by these sources would have conveyed to their contemporaries. While all these rituals established the centrality of the Fatimid caliph, the development of rituals on different occasions stressed different aspects of the caliph's authority: with the non-Ismaʿīlī population, with the army, with the Shīʿī historical vision, and, above all, with the Fatimid city of Cairo.

As expressions of authority expressed spatially, Fatimid court ritual was necessarily linked to the topography of Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ. Sanders demonstrates very clearly the dialectic between court ritual and urban development in Cairo. Chap. 3 on the development of the "ritual city," and chap. 5, on Nile ceremonies, are profitable reading for students of Islamic urbanism. Indeed, there is much in this book that will profit scholars interested in a comparative study, especially Byzantinists, Egyptologists, archaeologists, and art historians.

In short, this is a brief yet excellent study. Sanders's attention to detail and intelligent reading of Fatimid rituals have produced a work that is of potential interest to many scholars in dif-

ferent fields. By bringing discussion of the topic to a new level, the work will probably be the starting-point for any future investigation of Islamic court ritual.

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The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East.
Vol. 2. *Land Use and Settlement Patterns.*
Edited by G. R. D. KING and AVERIL CAMERON. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, vol. 1. Princeton: Darwin Press, Inc., 1994. Pp. xiii + 270 + 56 figs. \$35.

The work under review is a collection of eleven papers (with an introduction and concluding remarks) presented at the second workshop of the Late Antiquity and Early Islam project, held in 1991 and focusing on land-use and settlement patterns. The generally high quality and utility of the contributions in this volume are in keeping with the standards set in the volume of published papers from the first workshop, on literary sources, held in 1989.

Whereas the first workshop revolved around problems in literary sources from the Late Antique and Early Islamic periods, this volume centers primarily on archaeological evidence from Egypt, Bilād al-Shām, Iraq, and Arabia and problems in its interpretation. Although all are concerned with the archaeological record, the contributions reflect a number of different approaches. These include a number of specialized studies, focusing on one particular site, such as the papers by Y. Tsafrir and G. Foerster (on Scythopolis/Baysān) and G. Scanlon (on al-Fuṣṭāṭ). A few of the papers use specific sites as the starting point for studies with a broader reach, as in D. Whitcomb's reexamination of the *amṣār* and early Islamic urban planning based on evidence from excavations at Ayla/al-ʿAqaba; A. Northedge studies the same topic in a somewhat different fashion, in light of military settlement and the example of Sāmarrāʾ.

The most useful papers in this volume for non-specialists are the regional studies, which synthesize large amounts of site-specific information into comprehensive studies with meaningful im-

plications for the economic and social history of the period. Prominent among these are P.-L. Gatier's study of the rural settlement of the Bilād al-Shām in the Byzantine period (fourth to seventh centuries C.E.), H. I. MacAdam's survey of settlement patterns in northern and central Transjordan (sixth to eighth centuries C.E.), R. Schick's detailed examination of the evidence for settlement in southern Transjordan, and G. R. D. King's study of Arabia and the Gulf (sixth to eighth centuries C.E.).

It should be further pointed out that some of these studies are not simple archaeological reports, but also call into question some long-standing paradigms. M. Morony's brief reexamination of Adams's conclusions about settlement in Sasanian and early Islamic Iraq led to a broader discussion of the use of ceramic data from surveys more generally, as is clear from G. R. D. King's comprehensive introduction to the volume. Gatier's study similarly reinterprets Tchalenko's models of rural economy in Syria. Finally, H. Kennedy's concluding remarks bring out the results of the workshop and some possible avenues for future research.

In short, the papers from the workshop included in this volume are valuable for a number of reasons: for bringing together disparate pieces of evidence into useful regional studies, for covering neglected geographical areas, such as the Hijāz and Yemen, and for reexamining a form of evidence which is all too often viewed as absolute.

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A Special Issue on Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces.
Edited by GÜLRÜ NECİPOĞLU. *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 23. Ann Arbor: Department of Art, University of Michigan, 1993. Pp. ii + 342 + 195 figs.

The volume under review is a special issue containing revised versions of the papers presented at the symposium on premodern Islamic palaces held at Harvard University in 1992. Restrictions of space prevent full commentary on each paper individually. It may be useful, however, to list the contributions to this volume:

"Introduction" (G. Necipoğlu); "Seal of Kingship/'A Wonder to Behold': The Palace as Construct in the Ancient Near East" (I. Winter); "The Sasanian Palaces and Their Influence in Early Islam" (L. Bier); "Late-Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context" (S. Curčić); "Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered" (O. Grabar); "Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?" (P. Soucek); "The *Qubbat al-Khadrā'* and the Iconography of Height in Early Islamic Architecture" (J. Bloom); "An Interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra (Dar al-Khilafa or Jawsaq al-Khaqani)" (A. Northedge); "Arabic Poetry and Architectural Memory in al-Andalus" (D. Ruggles); "Circles of Power: Palace, Citadel, and City in Ayyubid Aleppo" (Y. Tabbaa); "Mamluk Throne Halls: *Qubba* or *Iwān*?" (N. Rabbat); "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery" (S. Redford); "The Ilkhanid Palace" (S. Blair); "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design" (B. O'Kane); "Safavid Palaces" (W. Kleiss); "Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India" (C. Asher); "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces" (G. Necipoğlu).

While the individual contributions vary in depth and in quality, some general comments can be made about the volume as a whole. The most remarkable quality of this volume, as a glance at the contents will show, is its great diversity: chronologically, geographically, and methodologically. One does not expect such results from a conference devoted to one, often neglected, building type; yet here it is.

Most of the studies are not simple descriptive works of traditional "art history" but are rather inquiries into specific buildings as cultural artifacts, incorporating archaeological, historical, art historical, and philological data. Usually, this evidence is fairly slim on its own, but woven together, it can produce provocative new interpretations of these buildings. The generally thorough and sophisticated approaches used throughout this volume are a welcome breath of fresh air to a field that often flirts with antiquarianism.

Despite the title of the conference, the volume also contains some studies of pre-Islamic palatial architecture, a conscious—and instructive—effort on the part of the conference to break the barriers supplied by problematic labels. Similarly, while scholarship has tended to focus on

early Islamic architecture as the embodiment of a "pure" Islamic civilization, the contributions in this volume of Ayyubid, Mamluk, Seljuq, Ilkhanid, Mughal, Safavid, and Ottoman palaces demonstrate Islamic society's capacity for change and innovation as well as the continuities in architectural traditions.

In short, this volume of *Ars Orientalis* is a valuable collection that has taken one building type—the palace—and has produced as a result a diverse array of innovative studies.

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Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution. By DONALD QUATAERT. Cambridge Middle East Library 30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Pp. xvii + 224. \$59.95.

Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500–1950. Edited by DONALD QUATAERT. SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. Pp. 175. \$16.95.

Donald Quataert's two books substantially revise the history of Ottoman manufacturing, which until recently has been a story of failure to industrialize. The decline of Ottoman manufacturing in the face of European competition after the Industrial Revolution is one chapter of the story of decline that we tell about the Ottoman Empire. This story focuses on factory industrialization and international trade, particularly with the west. It is told from abundant and easily accessible sources, often in western languages.

But this story of industrial decline has blinded us to a high level of activity in workshop and home production by hand during the period between 1800 and 1914 and to production for the domestic market. Through a study of the textile industry, Quataert shows that when these categories of production are added to the totals, we can see an increase in Ottoman manufacturing and probably a growth in per capita output, even though the Ottoman share of world production was shrinking. Not only was there much more

manufacturing activity in provincial towns and in the countryside than previously suspected, but also much of the labor was supplied by women and children (who might be listed as men in official reports).

Quataert's perusal of newspapers, both Ottoman and foreign, added to archival documents and official reports, reveals that the decline of certain branches of industry is not the whole story. Workers often transferred into other branches of production, from hand spinning to weaving with machine-spun thread or from weaving to lace-making and embroidery. The creation of new industries, the exploitation of new resources (such as coal), the discovery of new markets (such as the insatiable European lust for handmade oriental rugs) are parts of a dynamic picture of Ottoman manufacturing in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman economy did not become a mere producer of raw materials for European industry; its manufacturing sector stayed alive and even revived after being hard hit in the first half of the century. Revival was brought to an abrupt end by World War I and the dismemberment of the empire, and the Turkish Republic was forced to begin nearly from scratch to develop new industry and new networks of supply and marketing.

Quataert's edited volume lends this revisionist view a broader historical scope. If workshop and home production and production for the domestic market were keys to Ottoman manufacturing in the industrial age, then their history in earlier centuries becomes of more than antiquarian interest; likewise, if old commercial patterns were irrevocably destroyed at the end of the empire, then the manufacturing history of modern Turkey must be a search for new ones. These are the premises on which the authors of the volume's four chapters proceed.

Suraiya Faroqhi unifies the economic history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through a study of labor. She categorizes industrial labor by degree of coercion, from slavery through coerced labor on military campaigns and construction sites, enforced deliveries of goods and services, cash payments in lieu of service, work by military men in crafts and construction, to the organization of crafts in workshops and putting-out systems. Although she complains of a lack of sources, she is able to provide examples from a wide variety of crafts and industries. Her conclu-

sion links the fate of Ottoman manufacturing to the economic crisis at the end of the sixteenth century and to the warfare of the Ottoman state. As in early modern France or the Habsburg Empire, war, state-building, and massive public construction projects seem to have had a retarding effect on the economy.

Mehmet Genç approaches the study of manufacturing in the eighteenth century by looking at state control of the economy and the obstacles it posed for the development of modern capitalism. He examines three textile industries in which protofactory production was employed: woolens, silk, and sailcloth. Interactions between economic developments and the interests of the state were crucial for the fate of these industries. He concludes that the reason for the short life of a number of Ottoman industries is that they were established essentially to keep the state's budget in balance by low-cost manufacturing of needed goods. It is telling that Genç's bibliography contains not one study of a single industry; this is a major gap in our knowledge of the eighteenth century.

Quataert's chapter, a summary of his book, uses the textile industry to chart the decay and re-vivification of nineteenth-century Ottoman manufacturing. Hindrances to the development of factory production were low population and water resources, as well as the enforcement of British free trade policy with guns. Small-scale production for the domestic market, usually omitted in discussions of Ottoman industrial production, was of crucial importance and is given a correspondingly large place in his chapter. Quataert documents the responsiveness of certain branches of industry to changes in economic conditions, supplies of raw materials, and shifts in the market. His bibliography demonstrates graphically how much greater the diversity of sources is for this period and how many more studies have already been made, especially on textiles.

Çağlar Keyder relates the discontinuity of industrial development in the first half of the twentieth century to changes in social groups controlling manufacturing, given that the Ottoman Empire had not had a large landowning nobility and capital was in the hands of merchants, largely Greek and Armenian. He divides the period into three stages: a transitional period

through the 1920s, the crisis of the 1930s and the war years, and the postwar period. In the first stage, small traditional manufacturing lost skilled labor to population transfers and a lucrative agricultural boom, and state enterprises experienced a war boom and a postwar eclipse, while Turkish businessmen began taking over privately owned urban manufacturing from departing non-Muslims. This era also saw an invasion of foreign capital, which suddenly disappeared with the crisis of the 1930s. In the Depression era, private industry was subordinated by state domination of the economy, and a policy of import substitution was initiated. The dominant groups in manufacturing were bureaucrats and Turks with ties to the bureaucracy, wealthy Dönme immigrants from Salonika, and cotton growers and textile manufacturers in Çukurova, the one area of large landholding concentration. In the postwar climate dominated by America the balance shifted again, this time toward private enterprise. Çukurova textile manufacturers and private businessmen with state alliances prospered, replacing the remaining non-Muslims and setting the stage for the growth of private industry after 1950.

This book must be commended for including the pre-1800 centuries in a history of Ottoman and Turkish industry. Like any first attempt at a synthesis, it is better at raising questions, assembling data, and pointing out relationships than at reaching conclusions. It stresses the role of domestic production and deemphasizes the role of foreign trade in shaping the Ottoman economy, but it also suggests that political and military events had a greater economic significance than we are accustomed to think. War expenses, territorial gains and losses, and expenditures for the sake of legitimacy created opportunities and obstacles for Ottoman manufacturing that have yet to be investigated. As a history around a single theme the book is somewhat choppy and disconnected, but it opens paths for new and stimulating research.

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Labour in the Medieval Islamic World. By MAYA SHATZMILLER. Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, vol. 4. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1994. Pp. viii + 450. \$137.25.

The application of quantitative methods to Islamic economic and social history is as tempting as it is tricky, tempting because of the sheer volume of information, tricky because of the sources of that information. The main focus of Shatzmiller's voluminous, expensive work is the use of occupational classifications to measure the division of labor in the Islamic Mediterranean from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries C.E. The introduction gives a good account of different views of Islamic economic history and is critical of explanations based on the role of long distance commerce at the expense of production. She argues, instead, that early Islamic prosperity was based on increased agricultural productivity, which spurred the development of market-oriented urban manufacturing, which, in turn, increased local consumption and regional exchange, although the increase in the volume of production contributed more to population growth than to export trade.

The discussion is organized conceptually according to two main periods and three sectors of economic activity. A period of economic expansion and prosperity from the eighth to the eleventh centuries is compared to one of slow economic decline from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Economic activity is categorized as primary (extractive), secondary (manufacturing), and tertiary (services and all other occupations). The classification of occupations is derived from eleven *hisba* manuals, eight literary sources, and six modern studies. Among the latter, it might have been useful to include Jamal Jūdā's list of the occupations of *mawālī* during the first century of Islam in *Al-Awḍā' al-ijtimā'iyya wa'l-iqtisādiyya li-l-mawālī fi šadr al-Islām* (Amman, 1409/1989). It should be noted that Iraq is included in the Islamic Mediterranean and that a Zaydi manual from ninth-century Daylam is included in the data base. The information appears to be weighted toward Iraq in the earlier period and Egypt in the later period; North Africa and Andalus are represented fairly evenly. The urban orientation of these materials is also responsible

for the fact that pastoral occupations are only minimally represented.

The heart of this work is a catalogue of occupations listed according to economic sectors, giving the Arabic term, its definition, and the location and century of its occurrence, followed by a discussion of each category. Shatzmiller lists 2,957 citations of occupational terms (called "cases"), among which she identifies 1,853 separate terms (called "unique occupations"). For the eighth to eleventh centuries she finds 1,496 cases and 989 unique occupations and for the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries 1,889 cases and 1,310 unique occupations. The main assumption in her discussion of this material is that a change in the number of unique occupations shows changes in the degree of division of labor between the earlier and later periods, while a change in the number of cases indicates a shift in the distribution of the labor force. Her first premise, that the degree of specialization and division of labor can be measured by the number of unique occupational terms in each area of activity is probably valid. But her second premise, that the number of cases can be used to measure the relative size of the labor force employed in an area of activity and the distribution of the labor force in the economy is very questionable. This is the weakest and most controversial part of the argument, and Shatzmiller herself admits the impossibility of determining the number of people employed in each occupation. Time and again she is forced to qualify her discussion of the use of cases for the size and share of the labor force by information external to her data base and by common sense. Her discussion of occupations is in fact informed by a wide array of modern scholarship, including that on the Geniza materials, and is organized topically according to extraction (hunting and gathering, fishing, farming, irrigation, mining, and salt), manufacturing (chemical, construction, food processing, glass, ivory, leather, metal, paper, pottery, textiles, wicker, and wood), and services (commerce, transport, skilled and unskilled professions, bureaucracy, military, education, legal, and religious).

Although neither the division of labor nor the distribution of the labor force were static, textile and food processing were consistently the largest urban industries, followed by metal,

leather, construction, and wood. She finds relative stability in the size of the industrial labor force but a reduction in transport occupations within a generally increasing service sector in the later period. Although she admits that the unprecedented proliferation of military, bureaucratic, and educational occupational terms in Mamlūk Egypt is exceptional, she argues that it indicates increasing sophistication in the urban economy.

A final section contains chapters on the ethnic division of labor, women's labor, and Islamic theories of labor. These are unified by an interest in the social status of workers, and Shatzmiller argues that a basic attitude in Islamic society was respect for commerce and contempt for manual labor, and that ethnic, religious, and sexual stereotypes were built into the labor structure. The chapter on ethnic division of labor includes the translation of an Arabic text *Kitāb dhikr baʿd mashāhīr aʿyān fās fi'l-kadīm* from fifteenth-century Fez, which may describe conditions in Andalus after the eleventh century. In discussing theories of labor she neglects the functional position of labor in the Iranian tradition and misses Jāhīz's point that it is demeaning to work for someone else. It also should be noted that al-Ghazālī did *not* say there was a contradiction between being a Šūfī and being an artisan. She identifies two important trends in labor history, however: an ascetic rejection of labor in the ninth and tenth centuries and an increase in service occupations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and suggests that in both cases the reaction of intellectuals was to elevate labor to an act of creativity.

This is an ambitious, thought-provoking work that goes far to fill a major lacuna in the study of Islamic economic history. The occupational listing is, itself, a useful reference tool. The conclusions should lead to new ways of thinking about labor in the premodern Islamic world and generate discussion for years to come.

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Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century.

Vol. 1. By IRFAN SHAHÎD. Washington, D.C.:
Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Col-
lection, 1995. Pp. x + 351.

In discussing the monographs of Irfan Shahîd, it is difficult to avoid using the language of architecture. The work under review, volume one of *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (referred to hereafter as *BASIC I*), comprising over 1,000 pages, can only be called monumental. *BASIC* itself is only one part of a larger edifice, a multi-volume study of Byzantine-Arab relations prior to the rise of Islam. According to Shahîd, vol. 2 of *BASIC* (*BASIC II*) will be concerned with "cultural history, relations with western Arabia, with the tribes of the Outer Shield, and with frontier studies (p. xvii)," and he has projected a further volume on Byzantium and the rise of Islam for the near future. Prior to the publication of *BASIC*, a prolegomenon, *Rome and the Arabs* (1984) appeared, followed by *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (1984) and *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (1989). In addition to its organizational blueprint and general frame of inquiry, *BASIC I* also shares in the quality and controversy of these earlier volumes.

BASIC I is itself divided into two parts. Pt. 1 (*BASIC I.1*) is devoted to matters of political and military history, while pt. 2 (*BASIC I.2*) is devoted to ecclesiastical history. Following a plan familiar to readers of other volumes in Shahîd's series, *BASIC* is organized in chapters covering the reigns of Byzantine emperors. Each chapter is subdivided into vignettes, which focus on very specific historical and historiographical issues, as a necessary preliminary to a synthetic study of the period. Unfortunately for readers of *BASIC I*, one has to wait for the publication of *BASIC II* for this synthesis, and so this review should be considered to be purely preliminary.

In the previous monographs of this series, Shahîd has made his mark as the pioneering researcher on Byzantine-Arab relations prior to the rise of Islam, bringing to light previously unimagined aspects of the history of the pre-Islamic Near East. In *BASIC*, Shahîd has returned to familiar territory: the history of the Ghassânid phylarchate and its tempestuous relationship with Constantinople. While the subject

has been Shahîd's stomping-ground since the 1950s, the discovery and publication of new sources and scholarship since then means that there are many new conclusions to be found in *BASIC*.

Of this new material, two sources of particular importance for Byzantine-Arab relations deserve mention. The first, the Syriac and Arabic texts that Shahîd collected in *The Martyrs of Najrân* (1971), sheds new light on political and ecclesiastical history for the reign of Justin I. The second is the chronicle of John of Ephesus, which Shahîd quite sensibly revives as a source of direct importance for Ghassânid history (passim, esp. pp. 583–92). It must be noted, however, that some of John's "coverage" extends to no more than the titles of now-lost chapters in his chronicle, and any conclusions drawn from them should be treated cautiously. There is more new material to be found throughout *BASIC I*, as in the discussion of the titles of Arethas (pp. 292–97) and of Mundhir's visit to Constantinople in 580 (pp. 398–406), to name only a very few; indeed, the entire second volume, which deals with ecclesiastical history, fills a large gap in our knowledge of the formerly poorly understood involvement of the Ghassânid phylarchs in the spread of Monophysitism.

Yet if Shahîd's work is a monumental edifice, then it is an edifice where nonspecialists are likely to be turned away at the door. *BASIC*, like other books in the series, is a monograph that is intensively innovative in its analysis of the particular problems of its subject, and yet it shuns most attempts to make these conclusions accessible to new students of the period. While Shahîd has marshaled a significant number of original source materials in the text of his work, the vast majority of it has been left in the language of its first translation. Thus, to be able to fully appreciate *BASIC*, one must have at least a reading knowledge of Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Syriac, French, German, and Italian. While convenient for specialists, such extensive citation of foreign-language texts greatly limits the utility of the work to nonspecialists. To be fair, this may be craven criticism: Shahîd has, after all, done the exhaustive legwork upon which later studies will be built; yet one wishes for a larger-scale, accessible synthesis with which to

position the conclusions of *BASIC* in the broader currents of the history of the Late Antique Near East. Perhaps the synthesis projected for vol. 2 will satisfy this need.

It should also be noted that, as a pioneer in his field, Shahîd occasionally seems to have greater faith in his sources than do other historians. Of course, the tight-lipped nature of the sources is partly to blame for this; yet often the reader is left with the impression that some sources are being overstretched in the course of an argument (as in the digression of the Falashas of Ethiopia [pp. 93–95] or on the significance of the name of Justin II's daughter Arabia [pp. 318–22, 390–93]). On occasion, too much speculation seems to undermine what is otherwise a plausible point (as in the discussion of the participation of Saracens in Heraclius's Persian Wars [pp. 641–46] or the bishop Theodore's activities in the Ḥijāz [pp. 850–60]).

Like all good historical research, *BASIC* generated its share of questions that may be worth further inquiry. The following are only a few that came to mind: first, the enumeration of the many Ghassānid-affiliated monasteries associated with Dārayyā is striking (pp. 829–30). Is there any further significance to this fact, given the association of the Yamānī population of that village with Qadarism ("free will") in the Umayyad period and the possible relationship of Qadari theology with Christian theology? Second, Shahîd has elegantly traced the theme of Saracen *prodosia* (treachery) in Byzantine historiography (pp. 139–42; 220–26; 439–55). It is worth noting that the same charges are leveled against Arab troops in the early Islamic period: does this indicate the continuation of a *topos* of historiography, or a "topos" of tribal life? Finally, while the work cogently underscores the fact that Ghassānid phylarchs were settled leaders and not the nomadic bedouin *shaykhs* imagined by Nöldeke and others, does this argument "throw the baby out with the bathwater"? Historically, tribal groups of the Near East embraced a diversity of lifeways: in this way, members of the same kin-group can call upon the support of city-dwellers as well as pastoralists and everything in between. Is Mundhir just another urban notable?

But such comments as these cannot detract from the genuine importance of *BASIC*. This is

an exacting, attractive, and most useful specialist study (aided by helpful maps, stemmata, and bibliography). Always informative, occasionally controversial, Irfan Shahîd has produced a text that will generate scholarly discussion for generations. It can only be hoped that the remaining parts of this series will share the same virtues as *BASIC* and its predecessors.

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Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine: Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets. By DAVID SATRAN. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 11. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995. Pp. xii + 150. \$51.50.

The Lives of the Prophets is a small book that survives in numerous Greek manuscripts and in Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin versions. The oldest Greek manuscript (a secondary addition to Codex Marchalianus or Q) dates to the seventh or eighth century C.E. The composition was originally attributed to the fourth-century bishop Epiphanius, but this attribution has long been rejected. Instead, the consensus of modern scholarship is that the *Lives* is a Jewish work of the late Second Temple period, of Palestinian provenance, and probably composed in Hebrew. David Satran sets out to challenge this consensus in this brief but elegant monograph.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first presents the textual evidence and surveys the history of research. The first printed edition appeared in 1529 in Paris. The basic critical edition of the Greek text was published at the beginning of this century by Theodor Schermann, who also published the last full-length monograph on this text.¹ The most influential English-language study was the edition and translation

¹ T. Schermann, *Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae Indices Apostolorum Discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo Epiphanio Hippolyto Aliisque Vindicata* (Leipzig, 1907); idem, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus und verwandter Texte* (Leipzig, 1907).

by C. C. Torrey, published in 1946.² The text has been often discussed. Satran focuses on two topics that have enjoyed special attention: traditions about sacred tombs and the association of prophets with martyrdom. Interest in these topics has been stimulated by passages in the New Testament. Joachim Jeremias set out to prove that the saying in Matt. 23:29 and Luke 11:47 denouncing the Pharisees for building the tombs of the prophets accurately reflected the practice of the first century, and he relied heavily on the evidence of *The Lives of the Prophets*.³ The same text has been adduced to illustrate the reference to the shedding of "the blood of the prophets" in Luke 11:49 ff. and Matt. 23:34 f.⁴

Satran subjects these motifs to critical examination in chap. 2, where he examines the structure of the work. Notices about birth and burial belong to the basic structure of the *Lives*. The geographical and genealogical data, however, are without any reliable parallel in the rabbinic corpus. Jeremias argued that there was discontinuity between the piety of the rabbis and the popular religion of the Second Temple period. But the traditions in the *Lives* are also without parallel in the Pseudepigrapha and Dead Sea Scrolls. More than half of them, however, correspond with fourth-century Christian reports. While the level of correspondence is far from complete, the evidence suggests that the traditions about burial sites are late and of Christian provenance. Notices of martyrdom appear in only six of the twenty-three lives; the greater number emphasize the orderly death and burial of the prophets. Only the legends about Isaiah and Zechariah ben Jehoiada can be demonstrated to have a pre-Christian origin. The list of prophets who met violent deaths has a precise parallel in the Christian *Apocalypse of Paul*. The motifs of miracle-working and intercession are more important than that of martyrdom. There are traditions in the *Lives* that are paralleled in Jewish, Second Temple, sources (for example, the concealment

of the Ark of the Covenant in the Life of Jeremiah). But these traditions, argues Satran, were part of the common heritage of Judaism and Christianity.

Chap. 3 takes the Life of Daniel as a test case. Satran's findings in this case were already published in 1980.⁵ The most notable feature of this *Life* is the expansion of the legend of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment in Daniel 4. In this case, Satran is able to show that the embellishment is "a fine expression of early Byzantine piety" (p. 96). The Babylonian king is shown as a model of repentance, but the narrative shows a precise knowledge of a dietary regimen whose roots lie in the realm of monastic *askesis* (p. 91). One item in this diet is soaked pulse (*ospria brekta*). The verb from which "soaked" is derived is never attested in Hellenistic Jewish literature but proliferates in Christian sources from the fourth century on.

In chap. 4, Satran reads the book as an integrated document in its own context. By far the closest generic parallels to the *Lives* are found in the fifth-century collections of the lives of the monks of Egypt and Syria. Even when a Second Temple parallel can be found in the story of Habakkuk in *Bel and the Dragon*, the tradition has been transformed. *The Lives of the Prophets* downplays the miraculous transportation of the prophet to Babylon and emphasizes how Habakkuk was in control of his actions and remained dissociated from those around him. The interest in burial places in the *Lives* is congruent with the Christian cult of the saints in this period. The book ends with a brief conclusion and a translation of the *Lives*, following Codex Marchalianus (Q).

Satran has effectively demolished the theory that *The Lives of the Prophets* is a Jewish work from the Second Temple period. The book can no longer be adduced as a witness to popular religion in the time of Jesus or to support the association of prophecy and martyrdom in that period. The only tenet of recent scholarship that Satran does not examine in detail is the argu-

² C. C. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 1 (Philadelphia, 1946).

³ J. Jeremias, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt* (Göttingen, 1958).

⁴ O. H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1967).

⁵ D. Satran, "Daniel, Seer, Philosopher, Holy Man," in J. J. Collins and G. W. Nickelsburg, eds., *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (Chico, California, 1980), pp. 33–48.

ment for a Hebrew original, put forward especially by Torrey. In view of the overwhelming arguments for a Byzantine origin, the likelihood of a Hebrew original is minimal, but the monograph would have been enhanced by a more systematic analysis of the language of the *Lives*.

Satran's monograph is also a contribution to a wider debate about the Jewish or Christian character of apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings that have been transmitted in Christian circles. This debate has hitherto centered on *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* but is relevant to many of these postbiblical writings. Satran's study has shown that the Christian treatment of Old Testament themes is not always Christocentric. The common procedure whereby Jewish documents are reconstructed by excising explicit Christological references is unsafe. There is need for much more study of the pseudepigrapha in the Christian contexts in which they were transmitted. This is not to say that the reconstruction of Jewish sources in these documents should be abandoned. Many pseudepigrapha have more extensive Jewish substrata than *The Lives of the Prophets*, and even here Satran admits the existence of Jewish sources and traditions, although they are difficult to delineate. What is needed is increased sensitivity to the different contexts through which this literature passed. Satran's point is that the pendulum of scholarship in the last century had swung too far towards the reconstruction of hypothetical sources. His study of *The Lives of the Prophets* shows how much can be gained when the documents before us are read as integral works in their own right.

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Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects. Edited by M. WISE, N. GOLB, J. J. COLLINS, and D. PARDEE. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. xiii + 514. \$125.

For over thirty years the Qumran Cave 4 texts were effectively unavailable to all but the few as-

signed the task of editing them. These in virtually every case failed to publish and denied access to others—though not to Harvard graduate students.

This monopoly was broken in 1991 by a series of initiatives: Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg published a computer-generated reconstruction of texts using a concordance to the Cave 4 fragments; three weeks later, the Huntington Library announced that it would release for public inspection its own plates of the scrolls; and two months later James Robinson and Robert Eisenman published a set of plates. Meanwhile, unauthorized copies of a reconstructed text known as 4QMMT, with translation, had for years circulated among scholars and even been discussed at conferences. Then in 1992 Eisenman and Michael Wise published, with translation and commentary, fifty texts, most of them officially unpublished, though some provisionally or partly released or made available at academic conferences by their "official" editors.

Concurrently, the fairly firm conclusions about the origin of the scrolls, the history of their authors, and the character of Khirbet Qumran had come under increasing challenge. In the wake of this turmoil, a conference took place in New York in December 1992. The organizers, from the University of Chicago, who had begun preparation three years earlier, could hardly have hoped for better timing. The event was attended by over ninety scholars and several of the public media (including a British TV documentary team). This volume is a record of that conference or at least of the official proceedings.

I myself was invited and initially accepted, withdrawing subsequently because of unavoidable commitments. The New York Academy of Sciences, the organizers and editors of this volume, are to be commended for this published account of Qumran scholars at work. It is very revealing. I wish I had been there.

The papers, each with a transcript of the ensuing discussion, are divided into (1) "Archaeology and History of Khirbet Qumran," (2) "Studies on Texts, Methodologies and New Perspectives," (3) "The Scrolls in the Context of Early Judaism," (4) "Books, Language and History," and (5) "Texts and the Origins of the Scrolls." (As often with such volumes, however, the categorization is sometimes notional.) A vigorous start is

made by Pauline Donceel-Voûte, who, together with her husband Robert Donceel (coauthor of this paper) and scholars from the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem have been reviewing notes and artifacts from the Qumran dig and offering new interpretations. We are informed of its deterioration (due mostly to tourism) and of the loss of almost two-thirds of the excavated coins, on which much of the dating of the occupation levels depends. We are told that the pottery is not as distinctive as previously suggested and that Qumran yielded a surprisingly large amount of fine glassware. Finally, two loci are selected as examples of the need for revised conclusions, one of them the so-called scriptorium, which was actually, according to Donceel-Voûte, a *coenaculum* (dining room), the writing table a *triclinium* or bench for reclining on while eating. (Since 1992, alternative interpretations of the site have continued to proliferate.) The following paper, by Jodi Magness, asserts in contradiction that the Qumran pottery assemblage is more repetitive and plain than other contemporary Judean sites and reflects a detached community, such as a monastic group!

Norman Golb's paper, rehearsing his well-known view that Qumran was a fort and that the scrolls did not originate *from* it but came *to* it, is remarkable not so much for the questions it evokes but the silence from those with whom Golb has been in fairly frank confrontation since his theory erupted several years ago. Here is an altercation that did not transpire, though on the evidence of previous encounters it would not have produced sympathetic engagement. Next, Joseph Patrich describes his survey of the Qumran region, insisting that the caves were not inhabited by Qumranites, but served as stores and hiding places. He describes some new caves, one containing a jug holding what may have been balsam. But while Patrich still thinks of Qumran as the home of a religious sect, Donceel-Voûte had mentioned the balsam jar to bolster her theory of a more worldly industrial and residential complex. Finally, Zdzisław Kapera reviews the case of the Qumran cemetery/cemeteries, rightly pointing to their importance and lamenting that they have not been well investigated. His suggestion that new excavations should be conducted is not, however, likely to bear fruit, unless the or-

thodox in Israel can be convinced that the ancient Qumranites were not Jewish. This section certainly gives the flavor of a revived interest in, and disagreement about, the site of Khirbet Qumran and a considerable dissatisfaction with its once standard interpretation.

The second section is more uneven in quality. First is a thoughtful reconsideration of women in the community/communities of the Scrolls by Eileen Schuller—following quite naturally from the previous discussion of the cemeteries, where several female skeletons were found. It was, curiously, only after Schuller's paper that the number and identity of the communities being referred to was considered—a fundamental question not otherwise targeted in the entire proceedings. The remaining papers deal with specific texts: Kyle McCarter persuasively develops Manfred Lehmann's suggestion that the Copper Scroll treasures were, or included, religious offerings; Michael Knibb reviews the major interpretive problems of the Damascus Document, without engaging in any serious argumentation of his own; Joseph Fitzmyer provides text, translation, and commentary of the "son of God" text, denying that this figure is "messianic"—a useful thesis, since the following discussion showed how little scholars agreed on what "messianic" meant (see below on the paper by Collins); Torleif Elgvin treats "admonition text" from Cave 4, adding little to our understanding but taking a lot for granted about their authors and their history, finally confessing (p. 196) that "it is often difficult to discern clearly which texts are sectarian and which are not" (having already made his arbitrary classifications); and Peter Flint explains his nine-stage procedure for building computer files to map the textual relationship between Qumran manuscripts. Though he uses Psalms as an example, the procedure will work in principle for any document sufficiently well attested.

The third section opens with a paper on "messianism" by John Collins, concluding (p. 227) that the "network of overlapping messianic references" in the Scrolls "supports the view that the Scrolls contain a nucleus of closely related sectarian opinion" rather than a "cross-section of Jewish opinion." The core of this messianic belief, which Collins wisely wishes neither to harmonize nor to assign undue prominence, is a

bifurcation of priestly and royal authority. But conceptual problems remain: not every occurrence of *mashiach* at Qumran (let alone the Bible) can be translated as "messiah"; the word hardly ever occurs with a definite article in any Jewish text of the late Second Temple period, while not every eschatological savior figure is called a "messiah." We should develop our modern conceptual categories from the data and not vice-versa.

Ferdinand Dexinger suggests that "Samaritan" parallels in the Scrolls are probably rooted in the Palestinian religious tradition climate that both Judah and Samaria shared. But when does this tradition diverge? In discussion Hartmut Stegemann insists it must be fourth century at the latest; Dexinger suggests third or second. The split is already implied in both Ezra and Nehemiah, but there is no conclusive way of dating these books. The Qumran scrolls may after all turn out to be one of our best Jewish resources for the evolution of second Temple Judaism before the Seleucid period. But few Qumran scholars have shown either ability or aptitude for sophisticated historical-critical exegesis. Matthias Klinghardt's reassessment of the parallels between the "Manual of Discipline" and Hellenistic associations puts the label "synagogue community" (not a sectarian community living permanently together) onto the *yahad* and reasserts the likelihood of Hellenism as a cultural context for such organizations. The thesis that "Judaism" is in a sense a Hellenistic religion, or at least a product of Hellenism, seems to me a reasonable thesis to pursue and a counterbalance to those scholars (including Qumran specialists) who are keener to relate these texts to rabbinic Judaism than to anything else. Following these two suggestive papers, James Charlesworth commends his (then) forthcoming Princeton edition of 1QS and related documents. But he displays an ability to be "persuaded by" or "convinced of" ideas that more cautious interpreters might at the very most merely suggest, such as that the Teacher of Righteousness left the Temple to go to Qumran under the inspiration of a literal exegesis of Isaiah 40:3 (p. 280). In a conference whose papers mostly look towards new problems and solutions, it is discordant to find the old certainties taken for granted!

In the next section are two papers on the Copper Scroll. Al Wolters argues strongly for its authenticity, glimpsing in the three cases of a first person (plural, he says) possessive pronoun an author of importance, detailing the whereabouts of his own belongings. He also returns to Patrich's balsam (?) jar, suggesting it may be one of the valuable items listed. Piotr Muchowski focuses on the differences between the language of the Copper Scroll and Mishnaic Hebrew (often thought to be linguistically close). Between these papers, Yaacov Shavit considers, in a thoughtful and systematic way, the evidence for libraries in Second Temple Palestine, exposing the limits of what can be inferred from the Qumran corpus either as a sectarian library itself or as a deposit from other libraries originally housed elsewhere.

The essays in the last section open with a slight contribution by Samuel Iwry on the Damascus Document and a substantial evaluation by George Brooke of the *peshtarim* as sources for reconstructing history. Then Robert Eisenman rehearses his view that the Scrolls give the most accurate picture available of the religion of late Second Temple Judaism, a picture reproduced in a partial and distorted manner in the New Testament. Lawrence Schiffman's response helpfully focuses on Eisenman's associative method of exegesis (it is Eisenman's method that is more important and problematic than his more notorious conclusions). But Schiffman ends: "As to the theory itself, as far as I am personally concerned, it is a lot of nonsense" (p. 367). Despite a subsequent apology, his attempts to sustain an academic conversation fail, with Eisenman accusing him of playing politics and stealing his ideas. Further discussion with others is slightly more productive. But the reader is now alerted to the relevant fact that there is no love lost between these two (see later).

James VanderKam and Michael Wise discuss calendrical texts. VanderKam reviews the issue of the origin of the calendar and its significance, adhering to the traditional theory that it originated with a calendrical change in the 160s B.C.E. Wise deals with 4Q322-4, a text that makes some historical allusions and suggests with his usual combination of thoroughness, tight argumentation, and flair, that it was composed by a

supporter of Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus (mentioned in this text) who rebelled against him. Phillip Callaway then offers one of the few strictly methodological papers, suggesting, *inter alia*, that Damascus and not Qumran may be more important for the origins of the group(s) responsible for the Qumran literature. In the last paper (apparently not presented at the conference), Uwe Glessmer, using as an example one of the several texts to have changed its designation many times (4QOtot, 4Q319, 4Q260, 4QS^b) warns against the assumption of a single calendrical system in the Q texts.

The volume concludes with a report of two panel discussions. One assesses the ¹⁴C (AMS) dating of some Qumran texts, beginning with a report on behalf of the testing laboratory in Zurich. Despite the claim that these tests have proven the accuracy of the Cross system of palaeographical analysis, the truth emerges that the margin of error necessary in ¹⁴C dating (which varies with the probability, but generally requires a century) cannot "verify" palaeographic dating that claims to date within 25 years, though it shows such dating to be generally within its own range. This is actually a very predictable outcome, despite the hype surrounding the exercise.

The second panel is altogether more serious. Days before the conference began, an attack on Eisenman's and Wise's *Uncovering the Dead Sea Scrolls* was published. Signed by nineteen Qumran scholars, mostly "official" editors, it charged the authors with plagiarism, dishonesty, and fraud: several readings, it was alleged, were taken without acknowledgment, from scholars working "officially" on the texts. Behind the statement lay, I suspect, dislike of Eisenman himself and some desire on the part of those he had outmaneuvered to exact revenge. The "ethics" panel, chaired by Eric Meyers, consists of Lawrence Schiffman, James VanderKam (accusers), and Norman Golb and James Robinson (defense). The original agenda, on the ethics of not publishing the Qumran texts, initially survives, though Meyers immediately proclaims the revisionist narrative, according to which the delay in publication was unfortunate, though not deliberate, and that what happened afterwards was much more unfortunate. This is, of course, nonsense: the truth

is that the delay was scandalous, no steps were taken voluntarily to ameliorate it, and pressure to publish was stoutly and rudely resisted. The monopoly was forcibly broken, not graciously abandoned. Meyers alludes to an unofficial publication of 4QMMT in Poland but leaves out that the publisher was bullied at a Qumran conference into withdrawing that publication. Recent recommendations by ASOR and the SBL on the ethics of publishing texts like those Scrolls, expounded by Meyers and VanderKam, were needed decades ago.

VanderKam opens the prosecution by reciting a letter from Emanuel Tov, chief Scrolls editor, deploring abuses of the rights of legitimate editors. This is mild compared to the assault from Schiffman, who deplores *Uncovering the Dead Sea Scrolls* and accuses the authors of plagiarism, listing examples. Robinson's statement (read out) points out that even with a wider circle of editors (about forty) there is still an "inner circle," while Golb then refutes the accusations of the letter, just revived by Schiffman, and the debate moves to the floor, where both Wise (soberly) and Eisenman (passionately) defend themselves. Hershel Shanks, who had played a major part in breaking the monopoly through his publications, with reference to Wise, says to the prosecution, "You're ruining a man's career" (p. 487), and Schiffman agrees that even if he is doing the right thing, what is happening is a tragedy and that he will need to repent (the rest of us are still waiting). Stegemann supports the accusations, and Moshe Bernstein supports Shanks.

Over the page (p. 496) is a subsequent statement issued by Wise: "... after fruitful discussion with my colleagues, I have come to understand their position more fully ... I regret ... I am sorry. ... It is moreover regrettable" His accusers' responding statement retract their original letter and looks forward in a spirit of "collegial friendship" to future cooperation. Since 1992 this has, I think, largely happened. But let us consider: without Eisenman, this conference would not have been freely discussing new texts. And Wise is definitely a finer scholar than most of his accusers. The wrong people were in the dock. The real culprits (many absent from the conference) have been let off too lightly. This

volume is valuable for showing the best and the worst of Qumran scholarship and its practitioners.

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New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992. Edited by GEORGE J. BROOKE. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, vol. 15. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994. Pp. viii + 328 + 9 pls.

The present volume contains eighteen papers. Some are preliminary editions of new textual portions, while others are particular studies of topics and themes. The contents are: "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," by Joseph M. Baumgarten; "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385^b = 4Q385 16)," by Devorah Dimant; "The Psalms Scrolls from the Judaean Desert: Relationships and Textual Affiliations," by Peter Flint; "4QBerahot (4Q286–290): A Preliminary Report," by Bilhah Nitzan; "The Editing of the Book of Joshua in the Light of 4QJosh^a," by Alexander Rofe; "The Unpublished Texts from the Judaean Desert," by Emanuel Tov; "4QJoshua^a and Joshua's First Altar in the Promised Land," by Eugene Ulrich; "4QJubilees^b (4Q222)," by J. C. Vanderkam and J. T. Milik; "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," by George J. Brooke; "The Orthography of Some Verbal Forms in 1QIsa^a" by Johann Cook; "The Matthean Divorce Texts Reexamined," by John Kampen; "Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes aus dem Münchener Projekt: Qumran und das Neue Testament," by Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn; "Computer Aided Text-Reconstruction and Transcription (CATT) Developed with the Dead Sea Scrolls," by Armin Lange; "Methodologie et datation des manuscrits de la Mer Morte: le rouleau du cuivre 3Q15," by E.-M. Laperrousaz; "Die wiederentdeckte Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza und ihre 'Nähe' zum Schrifttum von Qumran und zu Essenern," by G. Wilhelm Nebe; "The Milluim Ceremony in the Temple Scroll," by Lawrence H. Schiffman; "A Cove-

nant Just Like Jacob's: The Covenant of 11Q 29 and Jeremiah's New Covenant," by Dwight G. Swanson; and "Quelques structures syntactiques des Hodayot parfait et imparfait non initiaux," by Luis Vegas Montaner. The volume contains nine plates and three indexes, covering, respectively, biblical references, Scrolls and classical sources, and modern authors.

As always with books comprising multiple contributions, the articles here are of uneven quality; in general, however, the standard is high, and all those interested in Scrolls research will want to consult this volume. Manuscript researchers in many fields will probably find Lange's overview on computer applications helpful for their own work. The great new impetus in Qumranology is reflected in this book, not only in what it contains, but in what it does not: one cannot help noticing that a mere two years after these papers were delivered, their bibliographies are, in some cases, already seriously deficient. Nevertheless, few will mourn the *status quo ante*.

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Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 („Florilegium“) und 4Q177 („Catena A“) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden. By ANNETTE STEUDEL. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, vol. 13. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994. Pp. ix + 237 + 4 pls. \$85.

The editing of texts from the Qumran caves has often been likened to the assembly of a jigsaw puzzle. The extant fragments are pieces of the puzzle that must be joined and fitted together to restore the original picture. Biblical texts are easier to reconstruct, since they have extant exemplars, while nonbiblical texts, particularly those hitherto unknown, often prove notoriously resistant to the diligent labor and ingenious solutions of the scholar. It is more

revealing of the difficulties of the latter task by comparing it to the reconstitution of a jigsaw puzzle with missing pieces and no picture on the box.

In this published doctoral dissertation, Annette Steudel invites the reader to consider her reconstruction of two such nonbiblical texts from Qumran known as 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) and 4QCatena A (4Q177). Parts 1 and 2 of the book are devoted to a manuscriptal reconstruction and comparative literary study of a work which she calls "A Midrash on Eschatology." Based on the method developed by her *Doktorvater*, Hartmut Stegemann, and all the assumptions that that implies, Steudel advances the view that the 4Q174 and 4Q177 are two copies of the same text, despite the fact that they were written on distinct leather sheets by two different scribal hands and that the texts do not overlap. Apparently, 4Q174 preserves the first six columns, while 4Q177 the middle columns 8 to 12 of an exegesis on biblical texts (notably of the Psalter) related to the last days. The original was probably 20 columns in total.

Having laid this foundation, Steudel then proceeds to describe how interest in eschatology (אחרית הימים) by the Qumran Community, which she identifies with the Essenes, is the central theme that holds all the seemingly diverse biblical interpretations together. The anonymous author (probably from priestly circles) collected key biblical passages together for comment when the expected apocalyptic termination of present wickedness and the inauguration of the messianic age had not come to pass. This midrash on eschatology represents an earlier stage of this reflection on the delay of the end time. A later development, as seen in the Habakkuk Peshet, views the onset of the end time as unknowable.

4Q174 and 4Q177 are two Qumran texts that have defied scholarly interpretations. Essentially, the difficulty lies in making sense of such atomistic and diverse exegeses. Steudel has offered one reconstruction that must be taken into account. Whether one is persuaded by her arguments depends in part upon how one judges the cumulative force of the indirect evidence that is marshaled. It may well be that 4Q174 and 4Q177 are two distinct, but nonetheless similar, texts

and that combining them would be tantamount to assembling pieces from two different jigsaw puzzles.

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The Shemshāra Archives 2: The Administrative Texts. By JESPER EIDEM. Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 15, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabskabernes Selskab. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1992. Pp. 165 + pls. D.Kr. 350.

The site of Shemshāra, in Iraqi Kurdistan, now partially flooded by the lake behind the Dokan dam, is located at a point of strategic importance in the intermontane Rania plain in the western Zagros. It was excavated for a period of about three months in 1957 by a Danish expedition and in 1958 and 1959 by an expedition from the Iraqi Department of Antiquities. The Danish excavations are only partly published,¹ but what put Shemshāra on the map, so to speak, early on, was the unexpected finding of cuneiform texts (in the last three days of the season). The best-preserved and most important of the letters have been published by Jørgen Læssøe. Now the administrative texts (the ones discovered by the Iraqi expedition in 1958² are designated Archive 2 and the ones discovered by the Danish expedition in 1957 are designated Archive 1) are published in their entirety³ in a masterful study by the Danish Assyriologist Jesper Eidem.

In an amazing survival of an old name, Šemshāra is equivalent to the ancient name Šušarrā⁴

¹ P. Mortensen, *Tell Shimshara: The Hassuna Period* (Copenhagen, 1970). Publication of the second millennium material is in preparation by Ingolf Thuesen (see p. 105).

² No inscriptions were found in the 1959 excavations.

³ Only the totally illegible and worthless pieces are omitted from the copies but are described in the catalogue of texts.

⁴ First proposed, as far as I know, by Læssøe in his *Shemshāra Tablets*, p. 31.

and likewise perhaps equivalent to the name Šaššurum/Šašurum (and various other spellings) so well known in Ur III year-names.⁵

With the Shemshāra texts, we move the assumed border of literacy further east into an ethnically mixed and uncertain area. All the texts date from the early eighteenth century B.C. A close study of the letters shows that they cover two to three years, divisible into "pre-Assyrian" and "Assyrian" periods. The texts fall into what Eidem describes as Archive I consisting of 146 field numbers, about 100 letters and fragments and 39 administrative texts. Archive II consists of 104 field numbers, all administrative except for a fragment of a letter and a multiplication table. Both archives were probably found out of context. Eidem raises the possibility that the tablets may have been stored on an upper floor (called "first floor," which means the floor above the ground level) and fell to their find-spots when the building was destroyed by fire (which partially baked the tablets). It is apparent that writing was used sparingly for administrative purposes and the record-keeping appears rather "primitive." There is no dating system by regnal years as was the practice elsewhere (Eidem suggests, p. 35, that a real dating system was probably unnecessary for the small-scale accounting being carried on), and the only internal chronological indicators are phrases such as "after" or "when." Eidem points out that these two archives do not reflect the whole range of economic activities. There are no accounts dealing with distribution of beer, but beer was obviously made locally because one text records barley being issued for making beer. Beer and wine are mentioned in the letters, so it is clear that both commodities were consumed in the palace.

⁵ Suggested by Læssøe in his *Shemshāra Tablets*, p. 70, and accepted explicitly by several scholars (see references in M. Astour, "Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris," in D. I. Owen and M. A. Morrison, eds., *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, vol. 2 [Winona Lake, Indiana, 1987], p. 33). The proposed equation is not commented upon in the *Répertoire Géographique* in either the Ur III volume s.v. Šašru(m) or the Old Babylonian volume s.v. Šušarrā.

The local ruler, Kuwari, has been well known from the letters published earlier,⁶ but he figures prominently in the administrative documents as well. Some documents record luxury items received by Kuwari as diplomatic presents (with some good detective work, Eidem figures out the patterns and concludes that the gifts are diplomatic presents from Šamši-Adad). It is clear, however, that the palace had its own production for such things as weapons and textiles. Eidem is able to identify 22 people in the administrative records who have a very good chance of being identical with people in the Shemshāra letters or, in a few cases, in letters from Mari.

Some of the names in the texts are Semitic, though Eidem observes that there are no names composed with *abum*, "father," or with *aḫum*, "brother." As expected in this area, a large proportion of the names are non-Semitic, many being specifically Hurrian. Some are apparently Elamite. He remarks on some non-Hurrian names ending in *-laš* that may belong to a local language group.

The core of the volume is the detailed catalogue of texts. The jewel of the catalogue is the meticulous transliteration of the texts, based on close study and repeated collations (many of the texts are badly damaged). In these administrative texts, many of the words are special vocabulary terms (such as words for various textiles) and therefore not translatable. Eidem provides excellent summaries of each text and notes on vocabulary of particular interest. There are a number of new words, new occurrences of rare words (e.g., *šušinnu*, previously known from a single occurrence in a list from Amarna and certainly not to be derived from an Egyptian word as has sometimes been suggested). Nos. 127 and 137 provide an interesting bit of evidence on oral numbers. In expressing the figure 138, we have me-at 30 ú 8, "100, 30, and 8." Information on religion is very sparse indeed. There are mentions of offerings to several deities, a bronze vessel for Ištar of Nineveh, and one has the word

⁶ See references to Jørgen Læssøe in the bibliography. The article by Læssøe and Jacobsen appeared in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 42 (1990 [published 1992]): 127–78.

(*nīqu* or *nīqu*) for “offering” or “libation” several times. In No. 13, Eidem suggests that the word *ši-ih-li* is a Hurrian word referring to offerings. In No. 109 we have syllabically written words for “moon” and “sun” (*si-nu* and *ša-am-šu* respectively), referring to objects in the form on a moon disk and a sun disk. Comparing passages found in the letters, Eidem suggests that in No. 110 we find reference to a goddess returning from a treaty ceremony with Šamši-Adad. Syllabic writings for Babylon are rare in this period, but in No. 11:5 and 16, we find a Babylonian messenger being referred to as *mār šipri Ba-bi-la-yi* and *mār šipri ša Ba-ab-DINGIR^{ki}*. These few comments on the texts are only a sampling of the riches to be found in this volume.

This volume is a model of what text publications should be—discussion of the setting of the site, the local history, the internal chronology of the texts, the relation to texts from other sites, the language of the texts, the ethnic elements identifiable in the texts, and excellent copies⁷ (especially appreciated when the tablets are as poorly preserved as many of these are) and photographs. It is written in an excellent and idiomatic English. My only regret is that Eidem has chosen to represent /ia/ by j instead of the normal y in English (for example, the name Yasmah-Adad is spelled with a J and abbreviated to JA). Some letters (fragmentary) remain to be published. We look forward to their publication by Jesper Eidem with the same skill and expertise we have come to expect from him and which is so masterfully demonstrated in this volume.

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⁷ Some copies are by the late Jørgen Læssøe, but many are entirely by Eidem or are redrawn based on Læssøe's draft copies.

versity in 1993, is an ambitious undertaking, principally an investigation of how the past is “remembered,” constructed, reconstructed, or manipulated for various purposes in ancient Mesopotamia, and forms the core of the volume. One has the impression that part 2, consisting of a chapter concerned with the dead and their relationship to the living and a chapter on genealogies, was almost an afterthought.

In recent years, the topic of “memory” and “history” has become something of a trendy topic, for it is indeed relevant for every society, whether literate or not.¹ It has not been explored in depth for ancient Mesopotamia. The author has made a major contribution to the topic of remembrance by citing a good many more theoretical works and works dealing primarily with other cultures than is customary in Near Eastern studies.

A major theme of the volume is how the Akkad dynasty was idealized, especially its kings Sargon and Naram-Sin. Jonker points to the Old Babylonian copies of Akkadian period inscriptions (but does not mention that they attempt to copy the Akkadian period sign forms as well as the grammatical features). Nippur obviously preserved in Old Babylonian times a rich collection of votive inscriptions from the Akkadian period, of which almost none have survived in the originals. When she states (on p. 91) that “apart from its economic function in the twenty-first century the written word was totally subject to oral tradition,” she seems to ignore the rich Sumerian literature from Fara and Abu Salabikh (and to a lesser degree from other sites) from several centuries earlier. These include such well-known compositions as the Instructions of Šuruppak and the Keš Temple Hymn, which were surely transmitted in written as well as oral form to the Old Babylonian period and later.

The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia. By GERDIEN JONKER. Studies in the History of Religions (Numen Book Series), vol. 68. Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1995. Pp. xiii + 284.

This book, a revised and translated version of a doctoral thesis presented at Groningen Uni-

¹ A frequently cited study (which Jonker has in her bibliography) is one by Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1984), 3 vols. An article based on it has been translated into English as “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*” and published in several places. A convenient source is Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally, *History and Memory in African-American Culture* (New York and Oxford, 1994), pp. 284–300.

Jonker devotes a good bit of space to discussion of the Chaldean dynasty and its idealization of the Akkad dynasty. She lays stress on the archaeological activities in the searching for (and finding, of course) the foundation documents of Akkadian kings which permitted the rebuilding of temples on their old foundations. Although she mentions Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon, who was an *ēntu*-priestess of the moon god, she does not mention another telling example of Nabonidus's attempt to forge a link with the Akkad dynasty. He revived the old institution of providing the moon god in Ur with an *ēntu*-priestess. The message that the moon god (of whom Nabonidus and his mother Adad-Guppi were especially zealous devotees) wanted an *ēntu* came through omens associated with an eclipse of the moon in his second year. The rites had long been forgotten, he says. In fact, in keeping with ancient tradition, the daughter was given a Sumerian cultic name, En-nigaldi-Nanna.²

Following Marvin Powell's attribution of the Cruciform Monument to Naram-Sin rather than to Manišusu,³ she also points to explicit reference to Nabonidus's having it buried where it was discovered late in the last century. She does not claim, however, that it is a "true" copy of any ancient text, as Nabonidus does. Her statement (p. 178) that cultural identity was guaranteed by the continuation of the cult and that religion still determined the form cultural memory took applies especially to Nabonidus, though to other rulers as well.

This is an important study which utilizes the most recent publications in Assyriology as well as the growing body of work on "memory" as a cultural phenomenon.

There are a few slips in the text, such as referring to Sargon of Akkad as Sargon I, whereas this designation is traditionally used for Sargon I of Assyria. She seems to attribute the phrase "writing of the gods" to Bottéro, though this is an ancient expression, where the gods were perceived as writing their messages on the livers of sheep, as she correctly says on p. 142 (though her use of the term "model" is not apt). On

p. 163 and n. 34 she refers to a wooden belt. This is based on an old misreading of the cuneiform sign GADA, "linen," as GIŠ, "wood" (the signs are quite similar in Neo-Babylonian script). There are quite a number of errors in citations, especially in the bibliography, which obviously did not get the careful scrutiny it needed. For example, Benno Landsberger alone was the author of "Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt," which was first published in *Islamica* 2 (1926–27) and not 1965. There is an error in the Rochberg-Halton listing, which is given correctly under *Studies Reiner*. Under Thureau-Dangin, his *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* seems to have fallen together with Falkenstein and von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, correctly cited on p. 261. Von Soden 1965 refers to the reprint and not the original publication of 1936. On p. 227 it appears that a handwritten "Set" has been misread as "Let." Most of the many other typographical errors are minor and not really misleading, however.

Gerdien Jonker deserves heartfelt thanks for this excellent book.

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Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires.

Vol. 7. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1993. Pp. 417.

The volume begins with a preliminary report on the archaeological campaign of 1987, lasting approximately six weeks in the autumn. One of the unexpected finds was remains of Middle Assyrian buildings. This was the first time that a residential area has been found at Mari corresponding to the cemetery discovered many years ago by André Parrot over the ruins of the second millennium palace. Dating was based on pottery.

Jean-Marie Durand, in "Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie," emphasizes the "western" element of influences in the "cuneiform world." On p. 47 he insists that the dialect written at Mari is in fact the dialect of Ešnunna. He further suggests (p. 50) that a divinatory technique such as

² For translation of the relevant texts, see Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, pp. 127–31.

³ See ZA 81 (1991): 20–30.

hepatoscopy came from the west to central and lower Mesopotamia.

Dominique Beyer and three other colleagues have studied the famous "bronze" lions from the Mari temple, for which only inadequate excavation records were made by Parrot in 1937. The example in the Louvre was studied in detail (structure, construction, and metal) during the restoration process.

In his article "Un Souverain éphémère en Ida-Maraš: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum," Dominique Charpin (on p. 167) defines *ḥazannum* as "le représentant auprès du roi local d'un pouvoir extérieur auquel il est subordonné." On p. 169 he discusses the procedure to conclude an alliance. The representatives of Šuduhum, Ašnakkum, and Urkiš proposed that a goat¹ and a puppy be killed, which shocked Ebāl-El, who insisted that it be a donkey as was the usual practice of Zimri-Lim. In his discussion of "proper" animals, Charpin suggests that donkeys may have had a particular association with Bedouin royalty. In this article, he collects a number of unpublished letters (and re-edits several previously known) concerning Išme-Addu.

In another article, "Données nouvelles sur la poliorcétique à l'époque Paléo-Babylonienne," Charpin studies a round tablet from Mari which had been catalogued by the excavators as an "archaeological object" rather than a tablet. It gives details of volume of earth and man-days to build a sort of rampart. In the second part of the article, he re-edits ARM 14 104 with an important join that makes the letter nearly complete. It gives detail of a siege of the city of Razamâ in Zimri-Lim year 11.

In a particularly important article, Francis Joannès studies perfumes and scented oils at Mari. He points out that there are nearly 300 mentions of these products in the Mari archives. He indicates that approximately nine-tenths of the oils mentioned in the texts are ordinary oils (principally sesame oil and olive oil), with various designations for quality, for ordinary uses (such as lighting and cooking). The others are perfumed oils. He takes pains to stress that it is not a matter of the essential oils of plants, but rather other oils that are given an odor either by maceration (a cold process) or by decoction (a heat process). These perfumed oils appear to be luxury items reserved for gods, the king, and a few privileged persons, although a few special uses are attested such as for anointing a battering ram and for funeral purposes. It is not clear to me what purpose was served by 58 liters of oil perfumed with cedar for anointing sheep. The scents in these perfumes appear to be derived predominantly from trees and shrubs, some apparently from resins of coniferous trees.

In a brief, but fascinating, article, Isabelle Weyglant publishes a terra cotta animal trap from Mari datable to the Akkadian period.

The section "Communications" has a number of brief articles. Jan-Waalke Meyer publishes a clay model of a sheep spleen discovered with the 32 inscribed liver models at Mari in the 1930s. Though uninscribed, he makes a good case for it to represent the spleen (also among the inspected organs in extispicy). Among other contributions is an extensive review of ARMT 26/1 and 2 by M. Anbar.

Once again the members of the Mari team of researchers deserve rich praise for another fine volume illuminating ancient Mari.

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¹ Charpin points out, p. 184, n. 11, that the CAD entry *ḥassu* is not "leafy bough" but should be *ḥazzu*, a West Semitic equivalent of *enzu*, "goat."

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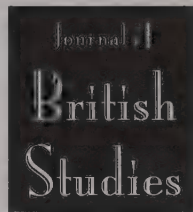
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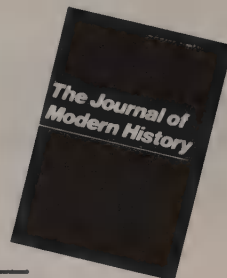


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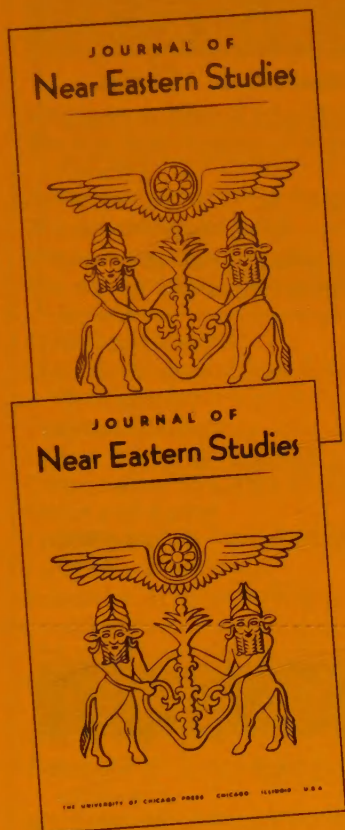
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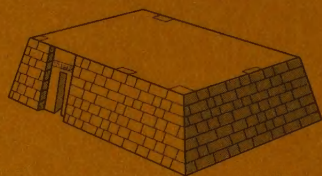
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